



# **FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS**

**SUBJECT: MARCUS GARVEY**

**FILE NUMBER: 190-1781-6**

**PART: 6 OF 6**



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**



SECTION OF

IN THE  
COMMISSIONER OF

RECEIVED

Arrived in the vicinity of 12.00-7.15 P.M.

At 12.00 Briggs was busy with papers at his desk in his room. At this time he left and went to the newspaper on the northeast corner of Texas Ave. and 10th Street and caught a home paper, and on that day home stopped at H. E. STANLEY's tailor shop, 127 1/2 10th St. where he conversed with another Negro for about 15 minutes, then returned to his house and engaged himself in looking over the daily papers.

At 12.15 P.M. was instructed to discontinue on this matter.

190-1781-6

REPORT MADE AT:

DATE WHEN MADE:

PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:

REPORT MADE BY:

York City

10-10-41

10-16

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

IN RE: STANLEY T. BRIGGS  
Communist Activities.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

Was engaged in the vicinity of 2299-7th Avenue, New York City from 1 P. M. to 8 P.M. but failed to see Briggs enter or leave the premises. Also went to the hall on West 159th Street where the Negroes congregate, but also failed to find him there.

FACTS & FIGURES

At 5.40 PM Briggs left the house, and proceeded in the direction of Manor Avenue, and on the way met a Negro, well dressed, 5', 8 or 9"; 175 lbs; 33 years old; clean shaven; very dark, gray hair, hat, blue serge suit, tan shoes. and after a short talk.

...the ... ..

P 134 for October 18, 1921. -2- Cyril Briggs

conversation for 20 minutes, after which Briggs returned to his home. At 7 PM he left with three or four books, and went to the Public Library, 103 E. 135th Street, and returned to the house at 8 PM..

Discontinued at 9 PM. but failed to see anything of Briggs up to that time.

JED.

< 190-1781-6 -1



October 23, 1921.

Mr. Thomas J. Brennan.

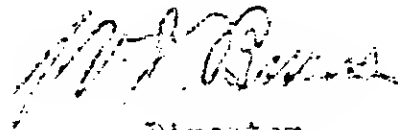
Manager, City Hall Building.

New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

In connection with the case of OFFICIAL 11773,  
it is requested that you advise the Bureau as to the  
location of the office of the subject at the  
present time, and the address of his residence. It is desired  
that you maintain his financial status at the present  
time and keep in close touch with his bank transactions.

Very truly yours,



Director.



Instructed by Spec. Agt. in Charge E. J. Brennan

REPORT MADE AT: NEW YORK, N.Y.	DATE WHEN MADE: 10/31/21	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 10/26/21	REPORT MADE BY: L.J. DAVIS
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TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

RE: CYRIL BRIGGS  
African Blood Brotherhood  
Negro Activities.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

Referring to the director's letter mentioned below, advising that the above named individual does his banking at the Chelsea Bank, 125th Street and 7th Avenue, I interviewed Mr. RAPP, the Manager of that bank.

He advised that Briggs does not carry a personal account there but there is a small balance under the name of the CRUSADER MAGAZINE. This account has been there for a long time and is characterized by Mr. Rapp as a "rotten account," in that it never exceeds \$75.00 or \$100.00 at any time. Mr. Rapp informed me that there has never been a deposit in this account of any sum or sums which would indicate that the magazine or persons connected with it were receiving undue financial support from any source.

~~Briggs is not known to the officials at the~~  
bank.

CJS-JND.

October 19, 1923.

E. P. Bohner, Esq.,  
Room 913, Warley Wright Building,  
1800 Pennsylvania Ave.,  
Washington, D. C.

IN RE: AMERICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD-Negro  
Radical Activities- Cyril V. Briggs.

Dear sir:

Information was received late today to the effect that the above named individual left for Washington early this morning, via the Pennsylvania Railroad. His purpose in visiting that city is unknown at the present time, although it is quite possible he is in Washington in the interests of his organization.

Briggs is described as being about 42 years of age, 5' 7 or 8", 140 pounds, slender, clean shaven, brown hair, very light complexion for a Negro, very nervous, and his stammering is quite noticeable, is fast walker and usually carries hat in his hand.

For the benefit of the field office at Washington, Briggs is considered to be one of the most active members of his race in radical movements in this district, and while he has been opposed to the organization headed by Marcus Garvey, nevertheless he is a believer in the communist doctrines.

Yours very truly,

EDWARD J. BRENNAN  
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE.

Instructions received from Agent in Charge E. R. Bohmer  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT New York City.

JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
WASHINGTON D. C.	10/25/23	10/22-26/23	John T. Flourney
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:			
RE: CYRIL V. BRIGGS - AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD - (All. Negro Radical Activities)			
FACTS DEVELOPED:		File No. 6700	
Washington, D. C.			
<u>ATTENTION MR. HOOVER - 2.</u>			
<p>Reference is made to letter from Special Agent in Charge Brennan of New York, dated 10/19/23 in which information is furnished that Subject, CYRIL V. BRIGGS, intended to visit Washington, D. C.</p> <p>Agent has made inquiries, through under-cover negro informant at the negro societies in Washington, D. C. as well as the publishers of the negro newspapers in this City, and it is not found that Subject made a visit to this City. Subject is known to this office as being active as a promotor of the African Blood Brotherhood. Agent's information, however, is that this organization has never gained a foothold in the City of Washington. Certainly there never has been an established branch here, although there may have been a few scattered members belonging to out of town branches. CYRIL V. BRIGGS is also known to this office as the former publisher of the Radical Negro publication known as the "Crusader". This magazine, for a time, had considerable circulation here, but Agent is advised that it is out of print at the present time. Agent concludes that neither Subject, nor any of his connections are conducting Radical Activities in the City of Washington at the present time.</p>			



Instructions received from Agent in Charge Edw. R. Bohner.

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT Washington, D. C.

JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
Washington, D. C.	11/7/23	11/6/23	A. L. Brent.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE

RE: CYRIL V. BRIGGS.

NEGRO RADICAL MATTER.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

Washington, D. C.

#6700

Attention Mr. Hoover.

Reference is made to Memo dated 11/3/23 initialed HN:

Agent interviewed Mr. Archibald Grimke, #1415 Corcoran Street, N. W., President of the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P., and also the Rev. F. J. Grimke, of the same address in an effort to get some data on subject. Both of these gentlemen, however, stated positively that they do not know Subject; have never read his magazine Crusader, (now discontinued) and neither had ever heard of the organization known as the AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD, or the UNITED FRONT CONFERENCE.

Agent then interviewed Shelby J. Davidson, #1335 R St., N. W. Secretary of the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P., who stated that Subject was in the city but that he did not see him, but had talked with a man whom subject had entrusted with the work of organizing a local branch of the AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD. Mr. Davidson promised to locate this man and arrange for an interview with Agent who will pose as prospective member of organization.

Agent interviewed offices of the Washington Tribune and the Eagle and both of these offices denied emphatically that subject had visited there during his stay in the city.

Agent then interviewed Prof. Kelly Miller, at Howard University who stated that subject had been in the city about ten days or two weeks ago, and had called upon him at the University. He stated that visit was purely friendly and that nothing was spoken concerning the organizations mentioned in this report. He stated, however, that the AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD has organized in New York, under supervision of subject, and is located at #2299-7th Avenue.

It is the opinion of Prof. Kelly Miller that the Name "Crusader News Service" is only the name of Subject's place of business where he handles publications other than the one he published himself recently, probably the word "Crusader" is used to attract his former patrons.

Agent was unable to get any information concerning the United front Conference, but it is the opinion of well informed persons that it is simply a conference of the leaders of various organizations to formulate plans for increasing membership and financial resources. It appears at present to have not progressed beyond the embryo stage.

Awaiting instructions.

Instructions of Agent in Charge Johannes.

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT Minneapolis, Minnesota. JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ON 11/27/23

REPORT MADE AT: Minneapolis, Minn.	DATE WHEN MADE: 11/27/23	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 11/22/23	REPORT MADE BY: Fred A. Briggs.
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TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

CYRIL BRIGGS - - - - - ORGANIZER FOR THE AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD-COMMUNIST.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At Duluth, Minn. & Superior, Wis.:

On November 1st, 1923, Agent in Charge Johannes received the following letter from Agent in Charge Lewis Sawyer of the Milwaukee Office:

"L. J. Johannes, Esq.,  
306 Federal Bldg.,  
Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Sir:-

The following letter was this date received from the Director, initialed EM-JM, Oct. 29, 1923:

"Information has been received to the effect that Cyril Briggs of New York City, organizer for the African Blood Brotherhood addresses the Co-operative Central Exchange, of Superior, Wis. as one of the "Wholesale co-operatives" connected with the African Blood Brotherhood. As you know, the latter is an extremely radical organization operating in New York circles. The above is for your information."

You will note that in the above letter the Director does not give the date of this address.

As Superior is in your district it was undoubtedly meant for your attention.

Very truly yours,  
/s/ LEWIS E. SAWYER,  
Special Agent in Charge."

Agent in Charge Johannes immediately

got in touch with the Confidential Informant at Duluth, Minnesota and requested him to be on the lookout for the above subject and to notify this Office.

11/27/23.

Agent in Charge Johannes has received a letter from this Informant stating that he has been unable to learn that CYRIL BRIGGS visited Duluth, Minn. or Superior, Wisconsin.

While at Superior, Wisconsin, and Duluth, Minn., Agent was requested to check up this matter and ascertained thru the Secretary of the Co-operative Exchange that Subject had not spoken in the Hall of the Exchange. The Secretary also said that he had never heard of CYRIL BRIGGS.

P.G. COTHEN, Secretary of the Chief of Police in Superior, questioned a couple of undercover men that keep him posted on radical activities in West Superior and they both reported that they had never heard of subject.

No one by name of subject has called for mail at the General Delivery Window of the Postoffice at either West Superior or Duluth.

Unless further request, with more specific information, is made investigation at Minneapolis Office is considered

CLOSED.

190-1781-6





DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

November 1, 1922.

Dear Mr. Burns:

With reference to your letter of July 21, 1922, and previous correspondence relative to CLAUDE MC KAY, the well-known radical of New York, I have just received information from London to the effect that he is at present in that city. Nothing has been learned relative to his activities.

Very truly yours,

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

January 11, 1923.

Dear Mr. Burns:

With further reference to Sayesh, Johnston, Claude Mackay, and J. Billings, American negro delegates to the Fourth Congress of the Third International, I enclose herewith copies of the Despatches No. 117 and 138, dated December 7, and December 11, respectively, which have been received from the American Legation at Riga.

Very truly yours,

Enclosures:

Despatch # 117,  
dated December 7

Despatch # 138,  
dated December 11.

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
RIGA.

Riga, Latvia,

December 7, 1922.

No. 117

The Honorable,

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to forward herewith a report received through confidential sources concerning the attention being given the negro question by the Third International. The substance of the report was embodied in my telegram No. 204, of December 7, 1922.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Enclosure:-

F.W.B. COLEMAN.

"Third International and the Negroes."

Right December 4, 1922.

THIRD INTERNATIONAL AND THE NEGROES.

The Fourth Congress of the Third International has given special attention to the negro question, having established a special committee for the organization of joint action of the American Communists and negroes against the American bourgeoisie.

The following American negroes are now participating in the Congress: J. Billings, Claude Mackay, Sayesh and Johnston. They arrived in Moscow via Siberia.

Following a statement made by Billings at the session of November 25th, the Congress resolved to render the utmost assistance to the negro movement, to call a World Negro Congress in Moscow in 1923 and to begin an energetic propaganda among the negroes in America in order to attract them to Communist organizations.

The Negro Commission, which included the above-mentioned negroes and certain American and Russian Communists, resolved to organize, for the purpose of demonstrating the sympathies of the Russian proletariat for the negro race, special negro detachments in the Red Army and to begin an energetic recruiting campaign in the United States to enlist negroes for this purpose.

The chief of the negro delegation from the United States is Billings. His assistant is Mackay.

Billings, Sayesh and Johnston will return to the United States via Chita and Shanghai. They expect to leave Moscow between December 8 and 12. Mackay will remain in Russia as President of the Negro Section of the Executive Committee of the Third International.

LEGATION OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
RIGA.

Riga, Latvia,

December 11, 1922.

No. 138

The Honorable,  
The Secretary of State,  
Washington.

Sir:

Adverting to my despatches No. 105, of December 4, 1922, and No. 117, of December 7, 1922, I have the honor to forward herewith the following translations from the Bolshevik press:

THE RACE QUESTION IN AMERICA.  
(Summary from Moscow IZVESTIA, No. 261, November 18, 1922.)

In this article the author embodies an interview with Claude McKay, an American negro delegate to the Fourth Congress of the Third International. The author states

"Comrade Mackay is a journalist and poet; his specialty is agriculture." In his interview Mackay seeks to point out the inequality existing between the white and negro races in America. He is suspicious of the philanthropic activities of such men as Julius Rosenwald, intimating that, in educating the negroes, they endeavor to win their sympathies for the purpose of using them as strike-breakers. Comparisons of amounts spent by various states in the education of white and negro children are presented. Mackay refers to the "Back to Africa" movement, headed by Marcus Garvey, but states that it has yielded no practical results. He states that "the negro population must understand that a revolutionary movement will break out among them some time and it must begin on the territory where they live at the present time, i.e., in America." In conclusion Mackay states that between the white and negro races in America "there is no human, social contact .... We are not regarded as human beings."

THE RACE QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES.  
(Moscow IZVESTIA, No. 259, November 16, 1922.)

This article likewise contains an interview with an American negro delegate to the Fourth Congress of the Third International, "Comrade Sayech."

Sayech gives various illustrations of the inequality existing between the white and negro races in America. He refers to the fact that there are separate waiting rooms in the railway stations; that the negroes have to

travel in separate railway cars; that in the cities they are forced to live in certain regions and that they are discriminated against by the workmen masses and organizations. The negroes, especially in the South, he says, meet with great obstacles in the elections and the black farmers are unscrupulously exploited.

Sayesh states that the economic situation of the negro makes him good soil for Communist propaganda, but that, unfortunately, the negroes are very poorly organized. In conclusion he points out that one of the foremost tasks of the Communists is the organization of the American negroes. The American Communist Party, he says, "will have to develop an energetic propaganda and organization work .... in order to include in the international troops of Communism a large new fighting unit - the laboring negroes of the United States.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

P.W.B. COLEMAN.

Enclosures:-

- Translations:-
1. "The Race Question in America."
  2. "The Race Question in the United States."



## THE RACE QUESTION IN AMERICA.

(Summary from Moscow IZVESTIA, No. 261, November 18, 1922.)

### Interview with Comrade Claude Mackay.

Comrade Mackay is a negro educated in America. At the present time he is in Russia where he is assisting in studying the negro question. Comrade Mackay is a journalist and poet, his speciality is agriculture. He was graduated from an Agricultural Academy.

In comparison with what Mackay tells us of the situation of the "colored" citizens of the "freest of all Republics" the situation of the Jews under the Tsarist regime and even now in Rumania would seem hardly worth attention.

The unequal rights of the "colored" are manifested everywhere and in everything. In a university no white student will tolerate the presence next to him of a negro student; negro children are not admitted to the school for white people; the teachers of the negro children are deprived of all pleasures of public life and have heroically to submit to ostracism.

The education of negroes depends entirely upon the activities of so-called "white philanthropists" mainly from the North and of their bureau in Cincinnati, which was established after the liberation of the negroes. This bureau prepares white teachers for the negroes who in turn educate teachers from

among the negroes. A capitalist by name of Julius Rosenwald opened 600 schools in the South and is going to open 400 more. It is interesting to point out that the same Rosenwald is the founder of the magazine "Urban League Bulletin". This magazine costs 15 cents but is given to the negroes free of charge. Its object is to agitate among the negroes and prepare detachments of "strike breakers" from among the dark masses of negro workmen. Naturally these gentlemanly Rosenwalds win the sympathies of negroes who, being thankful, help out very often when a strike breaks out. In such cases they are under the protection of the American police, whereas the latter prefers not to mix in when a lynching of a negro takes place.

It is also interesting to point out that the government spends for the education of a white child three or four times more than it expends on a negro, for instance in Alabama \$ 9.41 are spent for the education of a white child and \$ 1.78 for a colored child; in Georgia is expended \$ 9.58 for a white child, and 1.76 for a negro; in South Carolina \$ 9.59 is expended for a white child and \$ 1.44 for a negro; in Louisiana \$ 13.73 is expended for a white child and \$ 1.31 for a negro child.

There are about 100 grammar schools and only about 3-4 colleges for the negroes in the Southern States.

It would seem natural that under such conditions the negroes would represent the most revolutionary

element in the States. But the general situation in the United States must be considered. The negro, an oppressed slave, at the present time participates in no revolutionary movement and there can be no talk about any such movement among the masses of the dark classes-unconscious slaves whose life is entirely in hands of the white people. At the elections negroes usually vote for Republicans, whom they regard as their liberators, because that was their official watchword in the war between the Northern and Southern States. This war was as a matter of fact a war between the capitalistic North and the agrarian slave-owners of the South, but this question does not interest us. Recently a new movement broke out among the negroes, known under the slogan "Back to Africa".

"Is this movement something like the movement of the "Zionists"?"

It resembles it a great deal. This movement has all the characteristic features of the Jewish Zionists. The leader of this movement is a very capable agitator by name of Markus Garvey, who arrived to New-York in 1917 from the British West Indies. He claims that his organization numbers already about 4,000,000 American negroes. He publishes a weekly with a circulation of over 60,000 copies. This movement represents also the interests of the American colored capitalists. A steamship line under the name of the "Black-Star Line" was organized with the object of carrying on trade with the negro tribes of the West Indies. Garvey issued shares worth \$ 5 each and by

so doing collected \$ 1,000,000 for purchase of steamers. The Company has now three steamers but has proved to be very inefficient from the commercial standpoint and at the present time exists only on paper. Nor has the "Back to Africa" movement yielded any other practical results. Garvey's organization has even had a negative influence as far as the revolutionary spirit of negroes is concerned. The negro population must understand that a revolutionary movement will break out among them some time and it must begin on the territory where they live at the present time, i.e. in America.

Comrade Seyesh stated that there are about 60,000 negroes engaged in such professions as lawyers, physicians, etc.

"What is the attitude of the white people towards these colored intellectuals? Will they come to them and consult them?"

"By no means! That is quite impossible under the present conditions. No white man will ever go to a colored doctor or lawyer. They work only for the negroes. You cannot understand it; you Europeans and especially you Russians (here Comrade Mackay became particularly emphatic). Perhaps you will understand if I say that there is no human, social contact between the white and colored people at the present time and under present conditions; will you understand it now? We are not regarded as human beings".

These words were the conclusion of our long interview.

Article signed by Bor.V. (Boris Volin, presumably  
- Note by Translator).

THE RACE QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

Interview with the member of the Commission of the Fourth Conference of the Communist International, delegate of the American Communist Party, Comrade Snyech.

(Translation from the Moscow IZVESTIA, No. 259, November 16, 1932.)

The American law makes no difference in general between the races, but in reality every negro in America feels that he is something lower than a human being.

The economic position of the huge negro masses (according to the statistics of 1920 there are more than 12,000,000 negroes in the United States) should make them good soil for our Communist propaganda. Unfortunately that is not the fact in reality. In the first place negroes are very poorly organized. In the American Federation of Labor, which unites about 4,000,000 people, there are hardly more than 20-30,000 negroes. About 90 percent of the negroes live in the Southern States, i.e. about 10,000,000 people. In the Northern States live about 10.5 percent or about 1,500,000 negroes and 0.5 percent live in the Western States.

Of the negroes living in the Southern States 73 percent are occupied in agricultural labor and 78 percent of negroes in the North are working in industry. According to statistics of 1920, the social division of negroes was as follows: (1) engaged in agriculture - 2,895,575, (2) house servants and similar service - 1,222,231, (3) textile industry - 631,337, (4) in transport service - 255,996, (5) mining industry - 61,129, (6) various professions - 61,245, (7) public service - 22,332.

The masses of negroes have not been able yet to get rid of their suspicion of white people. Three quarters

100-131-6

of a century have elapsed since the liberation of the colored people but the attitude of the white people remains oppressive and humiliating. It is enough to point out that there are separate "waiting rooms" at the railway stations for the colored people. Negroes have no right to travel in the same car with the white people and so forth. The white people play the role of oppressors, slave owners, although slavery is officially abolished. In the cities the negroes are forced to live in certain regions, because the landlords would not let their apartments to colored people, being afraid of losing all their white lodgers.

The workmen unions and organizations are also prejudiced against the colored people. But the attitude towards negroes is not the same throughout the United States. Race hatred is especially strong in the Southern States, although in the North a negro feels that he is something different from a human being. It often happens that after a strike the white workmen betray their colored colleagues to the employer and do not protest at all if the unfortunate colored strikers are dismissed.

Negroes, especially in the South, where they compose the majority of voters, meet with great obstacles in the elections to Congress. There is some kind of a tax which is collected from the voters. Unequal economic conditions result in the fact that this tax (very small as a matter of fact) can be easily paid by the white voters, who are always better off than the colored, for whom even this insignificant

tax is too high. The black farmers are unscrupulously exploited, being in the majority of cases small tenant land owners.

There is about 25 percent of illiterate the negroes in the South, whereas this percentage the white people is almost nil. In Congress there is only one negro delegate - our comrade.

The great task of organizing the masses of negroes - millions of farmers and industrial workers - has not been yet commenced, the whole work is still ahead and the American Communist Party, after the Fourth Conference of the International, when the question will go through a detailed examination, will have to develop an energetic propaganda and organization work among our black comrades, to wipe out their suspicion and the least traces of prejudice in order to include in the international troops of communism a large new fighting unit - the laboring negroes of the United States.

We must create favorable conditions for struggle in the economic organizations, we must rely upon the support of our comrades, negro Communists, who can more easily penetrate the masses of the black laborers, since mistrust towards us, white people, is not yet completely wiped out. We must organize germ cells everywhere among our black comrades and make them starting points for our future work.

The question deserves a careful consideration which will be fully justified on account of the importance of the work and its results for the general success of the Social Revolution.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

January 11, 1923.

Dear Mr. Burns:

Please refer to your letter of December 13, initialed GFR:JWM, concerning Sayesh Johnston, Claude MacKay and J. Billings. As far as can be ascertained, these individuals have never received departmental passports. They, no doubt, went out and will return as sailors. In this connection I enclose herewith copy of a Despatch No. 143, dated December 11, which has been received from the American Legation at Riga.

Very truly yours,

Enclosure:

From Riga, No. 143,  
December 11, 1922.

William J. Burns, Esquire,

Director, Bureau of Investigation,

Department of Justice,

Washington, D. C.



Riga, December 11, 1922.

No. 143

The Honorable,  
The Secretary of State,  
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to send the Department the following advance information in regard to the session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to consider the negro question in America, which was held on November 28, 1922: Those present at the session were Bukharin, Billings, Johnston, Jose, Bunting (Bunting?), Ravenstein, Katayama, Takhar, Malacca, Mackay, Kuusinen, Lackey and Safarov. A report of the minutes of the session has just been obtained through confidential sources and will be forwarded by next pouch.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

190-1781-6

## On the Way to Petrograd

By ANISE

1-16-22

Bay of Finland, November 18, 1922.

Dear Folks:

I'm on a steamer in the Bay of Finland, approaching Petrograd. Sitting up on deck writing this letter; would you believe it, after the middle of November. Father is with me; he is going into Russia for a few weeks to get famine information, while I am going to see all I can see of the Red Trade Union International and write you about it, and then take a trip south to the Danetz basin, the center of Russia's fuel problem, and perhaps to Baku.

We are about three days out from Berlin, on a German line that plies between Stettin and Petrograd. It is quicker than the train going to Petrograd, but a little longer, if one is going to Moscow. In spite of the season, we have had a delightful voyage, clear, not very cold, and smooth.

The steamer was built by the Germans in 1914, and captured by the Russians on the outbreak of war. It is now one of the few steamers owned by Germany, for it was returned last January, after the Entente had taken all the rest of Germany's shipping. When folks speak of Russia's "disregard for property," that is worth remembering. The Entente had plenty of hypocritical words to cover the seizing of Germany's ships, but they confiscated private property just as ruthlessly as the Russians ever did.

### RUSSIANS RETURNING HOME

There are several families with children on the ship, indicating that parents are no longer afraid to take quite young children into Russia but expect to be able to get proper food for them. There are also many Russians who have been prisoners and are coming home for the first time after eight years.

Americans think the war is over, but it isn't. Thousands of war prisoners all over Europe know it isn't. There are still thousands of Germans in the distant provinces of Russia and thousands of Russians in Germany, who have not been able to pay their way back again to their home lands and who have not even had letters to tell them if their people are living or dead. All Central and Eastern Europe is still clogged with war refugees and war prisoners.

### FRENCH HOLD RUSSIANS PRISONERS

One of these Russians tells me that there are thousands of Russians down in Algeria, held there by the French and without letters or papers or any communications from Russia. They were helping France on the western front in the early days of the war. Then came the Revolution and the Russians declared that their country was at peace now, and that they would also no longer fight. They were promptly jailed or interned, some of them taken to Algeria. And since France has no agreement with Russia yet, there is no way of arranging to bring them home.

Around this Baltic Sea through which we sail, there are no less than ten different languages spoken. And it isn't such a large sea at that. There is Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, Russian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, German and Danish. No doubt, if you hunted the villages, you would find some more dialects, but I am talking merely of regular languages, spoken by separate nations. Each of these groups has its own governments and passport regulations for Europe to recover.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

March 17, 1923.

Dear Mr. Burns:

Under date of March 8, the Department received a cablegram from the American Legation at Copenhagen to the effect that CLAUDE MACKAY was reported to be leaving for the United States with instructions to organize a colored Soviet. The Department immediately requested the Legation to forward more definite information as to the vessel and date of departure.

Under date of March 15, the Legation replied in effect that they were unable to ascertain facts concerning Mackey's departure but learned that a Bolshevik agent of this name was recently ordered to proceed to The Hague from Norway. It is the opinion of our people abroad that if this agent is Claude Mackey, he will probably attempt to enter the United States via the West Indies.

Any further information which is received relative to this matter will be promptly forwarded to you.

Very truly yours,

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

March 21, 1923.

Dear Mr. Burns:

I enclose herewith copy of a self-explanatory report together with enclosures which were transmitted to the Department by the American Minister at Riga, relative to the American negroes who attended the Fourth Congress of the Third International.

Very truly yours,

*W. L. Hurley*  
*Paul*

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

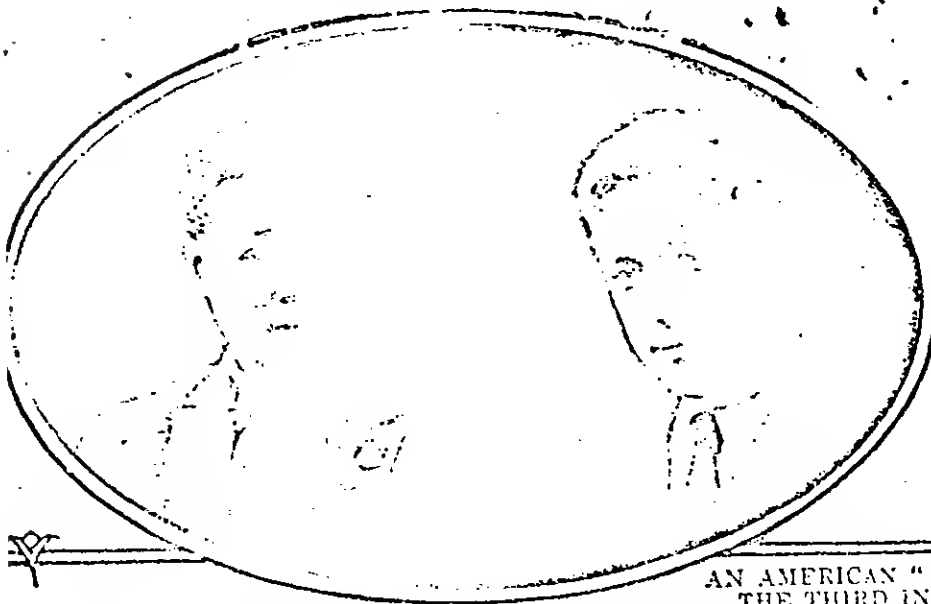
The two principal negro delegates were J. Billings, chief of the delegation, and Claude Mackay, his assistant. I do not know their ages, but I am enclosing herewith reproductions of two photographs, one taken from the New York Times of December 31, 1922, showing Claude Mackay and Max Eastman, and the other from the February number of Current History, in which both Mackay and Billings appear. An American who recently arrived here from Moscow saw Mackay there and describes him as being a typical black American negro. It is stated that he is a poet and writer. From the photograph of Billings, it would appear that he is of the mulatto type. I have been unable to obtain the full names of the other two negro delegates, Johnston and Sayesh (or Sascha), nor can I give you a description of them.

It is very doubtful if any of the delegates had American passports. Numerous American citizens have recently proceeded to Soviet Russia without passports, having only certificates issued by Bolshevik agencies in the United States, such as the "Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia" and "Kuzbas".



#### NEGROES AT COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Two American negroes, Claude McKay (at extreme left of photograph) and J. Billings (at extreme right), discussing the calling of an all-negro conference at Moscow. San Katarama, the Japanese Socialist, is seated next to McKay



(C. World Press)

#### AN AMERICAN "OBSERVER" AT THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL IN MOSCOW: MAX EASTMAN.

Radical Leader, with Claude McKay, a Negro Poet, Who Watched the Proceedings of the Celebration of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.

(Times Wire World Photos)



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to  
U-2

Dear Mr. Burns:

I enclose herewith copy of a despatch No. 476, dated March 2, 1923, which has been received from the American Legation at Riga, relative to an article by Trotsky published in the Moscow "IZVESTIA" No. 34, of February 15, 1923, in which he answers certain questions propounded by the American negro Communist.

This for your information and as being of possible interest.

Very truly yours,

*W. L. Hurley*  
*Law*

Enclosure:  
Despatch No. 476.

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

LEGATION OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
RIGA.

Riga, Latvia,

March 2, 1923.

No. 476

The Honorable,

The Secretary of State,  
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to forward herewith the translation of an article by Trotsky, published in the Moscow IZVESTIA, No. 34, of February 15, 1923, in which he answers certain questions propounded by the American negro Communist, Claude Mackay.

In the greater part of the article Trotsky dwells upon the necessity of instituting energetic propaganda among the negro troops so as to impress upon them that they are being used by France for the purpose of enslaving the proletariat of Europe and that French and



and British capitalists are planning to use the negro race, in case of necessity, against the revolutionary masses of Europe. Trotsky observes, however, that the bourgeoisie are conducting an experiment dangerous to themselves when they involve the less civilized colonial masses in international conflicts. He thinks that the negroes, as well as colonial natives generally, preserve conservatism and "mental immobility" only if they remain in their usual domestic surroundings and that when they are brought forth to sacrifice their lives for the sake of complicated international conflicts they are rendered more susceptible to revolutionary ideas.

Trotsky thinks that the most important revolutionary problem of the moment is the training of negro agitators. In America he thinks the problem becomes more complicated because of the "abominable stupidity and race hatred among the privileged circles of the working class itself". He calls for a "deadly struggle" against race prejudice, which he considers to be the best guarantee for the enslavement of the white and black workmen.

In conclusion, Trotsky admits that he is at a loss to offer advice concerning the most expedient forms of organization among the negroes of America, because he is "not familiar with the concrete conditions and possibilities."

I have the honor to be, Sir

Your obedient servant,

F.W.D. COLEMAN.

Enclosure: 1. "Answers to Comrade Claude Mackay."  
(LWTBFLA, No. 34, February 15, 1923.)

ANSWERS TO COMRADE CLAUDE MACKAY.Article by L. Trotsky.

(Translation from Moscow IZVESTIA, No. 34, February 15, 1923.)

Dear Comrade Mackay:

(1) What can be practically done in order to prevent France from using colored troops on the European continent? That is your first question.

Agitation must be carried on to this effect among the colored troops themselves. Their eyes must be opened and they must understand that in helping France to enslave Europe the colored people enslave themselves by supporting the rule of French capital in the African and other colonies.

In this educational work among the colored people the working class of Europe is very much interested and in the first place the French and German laborers. The time of general resolutions concerning the rights of colonial nations for selfdetermination, the equality of all nations regardless of the color of their skin, etc. etc, has past. Now the time of direct action has come. Every ten negroes gathered under the revolutionary banner, united for practical work among the colored people, are a hundred times more important than ten general resolutions, which have been so generously passed by the Second International. A party which would limit its activities in this respect by idealistic declarations, not showing any effort towards the practical enlistment of class-conscious negroes for carrying on of its

program would not deserve to be called a Communist Party.

(2) There can be no doubt that the fact of involving the colored troops in the imperialistic war and at the present time in the occupation of German territory represents a carefully worked out and executed attempt of European, and in the first place of French and British capital, to find for themselves a force outside of chaotic Europe and by so doing to obtain the possibility of finding support, in case of necessity, in the mobilized, disciplined and armed African and Asiatic troops against the revolutionary masses of Europe. That is why the question of involving colored troops in imperialistic wars is closely connected with the question of revolution in Europe and, therefore, with the fate of the working class.

(3) There can be no doubt that the fact of involving the less civilized colonial masses in international imperialistic conflicts represents an experiment most dangerous for the ruling bourgeoisie itself. The black people, as well as the colonial natives generally, preserve conservatism and "mental immobility" only if they remain in their usual domestic surroundings. But when the hand of capital and even more - the hand of militarism - pulls them out of their usual living conditions and compels them to sacrifice their lives for the sake of complicated and now international questions and conflicts (conflicts between the bourgeoisie of various nations, or conflicts between the classes of the same nations,) then the conservative psychological stubbornness is immediately wiped

out and the revolutionary ideas are grasped by the disturbed minds.

(4) That is why it is so important now, at the present moment, to have even a small number of class-conscious negroes, young and devoted, interested in the improvement of the economic and moral level of the black race and at the same time capable of connecting morally its fate with the fate of the whole world and, in the first place, with the fate of the international working class.

The Training of the Black Activists is the Most Important Revolutionary Problem of the Moment.

(5) This problem becomes more complicated in the United States of America on account of the abominable stupidity and race hatred among the privileged circles of the working class itself, which do not want to recognize negroes as brethren in labor and struggle. Compens' policy is based entirely on this prejudice and up to the present time is the best guarantee for the enslavement of the white and black workmen. Deadly struggle against this policy must be carried on everywhere. One of the most important methods of struggle against this capitalist corruption of minds is to wake up the human dignity and revolutionary protest among the black slaves of American capital. This work can be best carried on by the devoted and politically educated negro revolutionists. Naturally the work must not assume the character of "black chauvinism" but must be carried on in the spirit of solidarity among all laborers regardless of the color of their skin. I am at a loss to say what are the most expedient organization forms for the movement

among the American negroes because I am not familiar with the concrete conditions and possibilities. But the organization forms will be found as soon as sufficient will for action is displayed.

With communistic greetings,

(Signed) L. Trotsky.

COPY

AMERICAN LEGATION

No. 375

Copenhagen, COPENHAGEN 1923.

A true copy of  
the original orig-  
inal. GH

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,  
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report, confirming my telegram No. 6, March 8, 3 p.m., that my French Colleague, Vicomte de Fontenay, informs me, from official information received by him, that one Claude Mackey, an American negro, who has just graduated from the Bolshevik school at Moscow, has been especially delegated by the Soviet Government for propaganda among the North American negroes. In an open letter, which recently appeared in IZVESTIA, Trotsky has published the official instructions given to Mackey for the organization of the black race in the United States against their "American oppressors". I am informed that Mackey is sailing at once for the United States.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

John Dwyer Prince.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

April 10, 1925.

Dear Mr. Burns:

The following is a note which appeared in the  
Russian Soviet Press Review No. 308 of February 15,  
1923:

"From Moscow. Soviet Press has published  
Trotzky's interview with Negro Communist Delegate  
Mr. Claude Mackey. Discussing present state of  
Negro Race, Trotzky strongly objected to the use  
of Negroes in European wars stating that by  
using black troops European Bourgeoisie thus  
demonstrates its own rottenness and weakness.  
Trotzky has suggested to Mackey some of the prac-  
tical measures which will prevent employing  
negro troops in future wars."

Very truly yours,

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.





DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

April 13, 1923.

Dear Mr. Burns:

With reference to your letter of April 9, initialed JEH/IMR, relative to Claude McKay, I wish to advise you that information which has just been received is to the effect that McKay is about to leave for America.

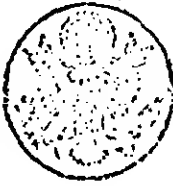
Trotsky apparently has gone so far as to advise him by means of an open letter in the "IZVESTIA" (photostat copy of which is enclosed) of the best ways of rousing the negroes against the white races, whether these are American, British or French.

It is reported that he has finished his studies in the Bolshevik propaganda academy in Russia, and has been charged by the Executive Committee of the Third International with the duty of organizing Communist propaganda among the North American negroes.

The source of the foregoing information has requested that it be kept secret and discreetly used.

Very truly yours,

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

May 12, 1923.

Dear Mr. Burns:

Please refer to your letter of February 10, 1923, initialed TFB:GA regarding an inquiry of the Translation Section of your Department concerning the identity of the delegate to the Fourth Congress of the International, Sasha or Sayesh.

I have recently been advised by the Legation at Riga that a great amount of confusion has been caused by various ways of spelling the name of this delegate, due to the variations which can occur in transcribing the name from Russian to English script. It has been rendered Sasha, Sayesh, and Sascha. From all the information gathered, it appears that all these renderings refer to the same person, who is listed as an American delegate.

The fact that he spoke about the necessity for propaganda among the American negroes, would make it seem most likely that he spoke as an American.

Very truly yours,

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice.

190-1081-6



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

June 1, 1923.

Dear Mr. Burns:

With reference to previous correspondence relative to Claude Mackey, the well known negro agitator, I enclose herewith copy of Despatch No. 411, dated April 25, 1923, which has been received from the American Legation at Copenhagen.

Further information which has just been received from London is to the effect that Mackey, having passed through the Propaganda and Agitation School in Moscow will shortly leave for America carrying on propaganda among the coloured element.

I am in possession of photographs of this individual which will be transmitted to you as soon as I am able to have copies made.

Very truly yours,

Enclosure:  
No. 411.

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice.  
Washington, D. C.

No. 411

COPENHAGEN  
Copenhagen, April 26, 1923.

A true copy of  
the signed orig-  
inal.

GH

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report, referring to the Legation's telegram No. 7, March 15, 3 p.m., that I have today received a communication from the Danish Foreign Office, which reads substantially as follows:

"The Ministry for Foreign Affairs has the honor to inform the Legation of the United States that the Danish State Police finds no person of the name of Claude Mackey registered in their books as having entered Denmark, and that, according to the best of their knowledge, no person holding an American passport has been found to have entered the country of Denmark."

"Moreover, the Danish Legation at The Hague has informed the Foreign Office here that during the past year no Danish authority, authorized to grant visas, has permitted any negro to enter Denmark under a visa. Six months ago two negroes, coming from Coblenz, calling themselves musicians by profession, requested visas at the Danish Legation at The Hague, which were refused them."

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

John Dynoley Prince.

51

LONDON, March 11. 1934.

Dear Norman:

Our friends here have sent me a copy of a letter recently sent to a Communist here by Claude McKay, the notorious negro revolutionary, and I am sending it on to you without delay.

Yours ever,

BOYLSTON A. BEAL.

Norman Armour, Esq.,

&c., &c., &c.,

Department of State,

Washington.

Enclosure.

To Charlie from Claude  
dated Feb. 23. 1934.

COPY/RL.

Poste Restante,  
Toulon, Var  
France.

Feb 23, 1924.

Dear Charlie,

Didn't think you'd ever talk to me again after the moroseness of my later Berlin days and my dashing off without a friendly farewell. But I was in an awful mood, unwell as you know and quite unhappy. I could not be pleasant to anyone.

Of course, I wanted to hear from you after I got to Paris but I knew everything was upset and didn't know where to write. Didn't know you were deported, either, or that the R.I.L.U. had special headquarters in Berlin. I thought it was in Hamburg. Who is Stoler? I saw a letter Clark sent to that dead weight Petroff saying you were in England and coming to Paris - that was the only information I had of you.

I was in hospital when Clark passed through on his way to America. I was curing my sores that had covered my whole body and my face and I also had a vicious attack of venereal disease. But to the astonishment of the doctors I recovered within a month. My ankle was swollen and I was limping in my left foot. They thought that foot would be in a bad shape for a long time, but I pulled through o.k.

and

and now am quite safe and sound but for some curing black scabbies marks on my brown belly. But immediately I got out of hospital I was laid low with pneumonia around Christmas. I had very little strength stored up to fight it and so I was in a bad shape and was without money. But Pierre was very good to me. The sickness left me with a cough and Louise Bryant came along and sent me here to cure it and write for a couple of months. I love it and went to stay until summer. I am writing a narrative of my American experiences and am already on the 5th chapter. Enjoy it more than anything I've ever done. Wonderful material to work in. My only drawback is my not having a typewriter.

Am moving from La Ciotat to Toulon on Monday. It has grown cold here and for a week I haven't worked and the little houses have no heating facilities. I have a couple of friends in Toulon who have found a warm room for me. You would find Toulon very interesting now. I am rather interested in the French they have more nervous excitability and imagination than the Germans. But I couldn't love them. The lower classes spit too much and are too practically mercenary. I visit Marseilles once a week. Nasty place, don't like it at all. Paris was interesting. Everything is in a sort of dead water now it seems. Are you going to the next

Congress?



You might send me some current literature  
and if you see Walter Muller (?) tell him he didn't fool  
me much about anything except by not returning my ma.  
I could have sold something out of it to "Humanite" when  
I was sick.

(Sgd) Claude.

Instructions from Agent in Charge Brennan. (N. Y. File No. 100-100000)

Case originated at New York, N. Y. Report to be made at New York, N. Y.

REPORT MADE AT:

New York City

DATE WHEN MADE

9/18/35

PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE

9/17/35

REPORT MADE BY:

Earl E. Titus

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

IN RE: HUNTER-RADICAL ACTIVITIES.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At New York:

Agent this day went to the home of Cyril V. Briggs, 215 West 135th St., and found Briggs working on an insurance form that the supreme council had planned to put through. Briggs was working out a plan he thought would suit and expects to have it ready for the council meeting to-morrow night, Sept. 18th, it being a sick and death benefit fund without accident insurance. Briggs stated that he had three places in view for an office and a place for the forum to meet and that he would probably be ready by the last of the week. He also stated that the Workers Party had their convention on Sunday, Sept. 16th, but that he had not seen Huiswood and had no information; that he expected Huiswood would be at the supreme council and make a report on what was done.

REPORT MADE AT: New York City	DATE WHEN MADE: 9/18/23	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 9/14-15-16/23	REPORT MADE BY: Earl E. Titus. ✓
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TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

IS RE: RADICAL NEGRO ACTIVITIES.

PLACES DEVELOPED: At New York:

Agent visited a number of places in Harlem among the colored people during the day, but learned nothing of interest to the Department. Agent covered a meeting of the African Blood Brotherhood, Post Menelik, 149 West 136th St., at 9:30 p.m. There were thirty-nine present and W. A. Domingo acted as chairman. Mr. Briggs was not at the meeting and a communication was read by Miss Grace Campbell from the Workers Party who are to have a meeting at 149 West 136th St., Wednesday, Sept. 19th. Mr. Hoiswoud was selected as a delegate to the convention so as to put before them what they intended to do as to a co-operative store and see if they would assist them. Mr. Hoiswoud said that there would be no forum meeting on the next Sunday, Sept. 15th, 1923, as he said that they had not come to any agreement as yet on the price of the room at 169 W. 131st St. Mr. Domingo dismissed the meeting and said that all other business would be taken up at the next meeting. Meeting closed at 10:40 P.M.

Sept. 15th: Agent visited several places in Harlem during the day, but learned nothing of interest to the Department. At four o'clock Agent went to Mr. Briggs' home and was told that he would be at Miss Grace Campbell's home at four o'clock. Agent went there on two occasions and Mr.

100-1782-6

Briggs came at five. Mr. Briggs, Mr. Hoiswoud and I mailed out about seven hundred copies of the Crusader Service. Mr. Briggs stated that he had a meeting at six o'clock and when I asked him if there would be any formal meeting on Sunday, he told me that they didn't have any place for next Sunday, but that there was a good prospect of having a hall next week. He also stated that he was sure that the office would be located in the same place and that he would see me on Monday. Hoiswoud and I finished mailing out the papers.

Instructions from Agent in Charge Brennan. (N. Y. File No. )  
Case originated at New York. Journal to be made to originating office.

REPORT MADE AT: New York City	DATE WHEN MADE: 9/19/23	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 9/18/23	REPORT MADE BY: Earl E. Titus
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TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:  
IN RE: NEGRO RADICAL ACTIVITIES

FACTS DEVELOPED: At New York:

Agent interviewed W. A. Domingo, Mr. Skiler and Otto E. Hoiswoud on the street, the latter informing me that he had mailed a letter to me at the Y. M. C. A., requesting that I attend a meeting of the Workers Party branch on Wednesday evening, Sept. 19, 1923, at 147 W. 135th St.

The three discussed the Garvey situation and Mr. Domingo said he thought Garvey had presented a very poor excuse of a plea in court, but that Garvey was a smart man and had something up his sleeve. Mr. Skiler stated that at the meeting at Liberty Hall on Sunday night, Sept. 16, 1923, Garvey had advised the people to get naturalization papers and become American citizens; that he, Skiler thought the ignorant class of negroes would believe Garvey because Garvey had stated that he was persecuted because he is a negro; that Garvey intended to make a tour thru the south and west for the purpose of inciting them to action. Mr. Skiler further stated that he thought Garvey right in some things, but that Garvey was really out for himself. Skiler intends to write an article for the "Messenger" next week on this matter.

Agent called on Cyril

Briggs, 213 W. 135th Street, at 4:00 p.m., who stated that Hoiswoud had just left there. He said he was going to

the Supreme Council meeting to-night at Miss Campbell's at 8:00 p.m. Briggs said he expected to hear about the hall by Thursday and that would give time to advertise the Forum meeting. Agent asked him what he thought of the Garvey situation and he said he knows that at one time they had about 90,000 members, but that now, he thought, they haven't any more than 40,000.

REPORT MADE AT New York City	DATE WHEN MADE 9/22/33	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 9/19-20/33	REPORT MADE BY: Earl E. Titus. ✓
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TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

IN RE: MICRO RADICAL ACTIVITIES.

FACTS DEVELOPED: At New York:

Sept. 19th: Agent visited a number of places in Harlem during the day among the colored people, but learned nothing of interest to the Department.

Agent went to 149 W. 135th St. where the Workers Party was to have a meeting and where agent was invited to attend, but only one member of the Workers Party and five of the African Blood Brotherhood were present. We waited till 9:00 p.m. and as nobody came the Workers Party member said that there must have been some misunderstanding about the date. Mr. Huiswoud said he was going to see about it and Agent and one of the A. B. B. members then went to the home of Miss Grace Campbell where Mr. Huiswoud lives, and stayed until about midnight.

Sept. 20th: Agent called at the home of Cyril Briggs, 213 W. 135th St., and found Briggs writing for the Crusader Service. Agent told him of the action of the Workers Party meeting of last evening and he said he was going to the headquarters today and while there would take up that matter. Agent asked if he had heard from Chandler Owen and he said that Otto E. Huiswoud had received a letter Monday, Sept. 17th, which Huiswoud told him about over the phone and stated he would bring the letter over to Briggs.

Briggs said that there wasn't much news

for the Crusader Service as the news-

papers are all tied up in the strike, but that he would have plenty even if he had to start something.

Huiswoud will try to arrange for a hall for the forum meeting on Sunday, Sept. 23rd.

Briggs said he has a great many communications from different parts of the country asking if his organization had anything to do with the Garvey movements or whether it was connected with it in any way, and that he was answering them all personally. He further stated that he will write an article in the Crusader Service regarding the matter and disclaiming any connection with any of the Garvey movements. He also stated that Garvey is trying to fool his people by saying that he is going into politics when at the same time anyone might know that he has been convicted in the Federal courts and has been sentenced to a five year term of imprisonment.



Instructions from Agent in Charge Brennan. (N. Y. File No. )  
Case originated at New York. Journal made.

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
New York City	9/24/23	9/21/23	Earl E. Titus.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

IN RE: NEGRO RADICAL ACTIVITIES.

At New York:

FACTS DEVELOPED:

Agent went to the home of Cyril Briggs, 213 West 135th St., and found him writing letters to those who had inquired about the African Blood Brotherhood and the Universal Negro Improvement Association being connected. He said, that the Crusader Service will be out to-morrow and that there would be no forum meeting on Sunday, Sept. 23d as he had not got a room as yet, but he had called a meeting of the Supreme Council of the A. B. B. to meet at Miss Grace Campbell's, 206 West 133d St., on Sunday at 2:00 p.m.

Agent visited the home of Miss Grace Campbell, 206 West 133d St., with Mr. Briggs. Miss Campbell said, that she got a letter from Mr. Wm. Monroe Trotter of Boston, Mass., announcing the death of the Rev. I. M. A. N. Shaw, President of the "Equal Rights League." Mr. Briggs nearly fainted and had to sit down for a while. She told Agent that they were to have a meeting at the law firm of French & French, 178 W. 135th St. at 8:30. Agent went as a member of the A. B. B., in which the Rev. Shaw was an active member and had spoken to the organization in the past three weeks. Agent joined the Equal Rights League. Mr. Howard was sent as a representative of this League in Harlem,—

The funeral will be in Boston, Sunday,

Sept. 2, 1923. There were eighteen

present and meeting adjourned at 10:15

p.m.

100-1781-6

Instructions from Agent in Charge Brennan. (H. Y. Title No. 5)  
Case originated at New York. Journal to be made by originating office.

REPORT MADE AT New York City	DATE WHEN MADE: 9/24/23	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 9/22-23/23	REPORT MADE BY: Earl E. Titus.
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: IS RE: NEGRO RADICAL ACTIVITIES.			
FACTS DEVELOPED: <p>At New York:</p> <p>Cyril Briggs called me at 8:30 a.m. and asked me to help him as he had so much to do on account of the death of the Rev. Shaw. Agent went to the home of Briggs, 213 West 135th St., and took the Crusader Service to the Trade Union Educational League, 108 East 12th St., where the headquarters of the Workers Party is located on the fourth floor. Agent was there about an hour when Otto Huiswoud came and assisted in getting the Service out. Agent was there about two hours and during that time about sixty people visited the place. There were four committee meetings while Agent was there. Agent then went to Huiswoud's home, 206 West 133d St. and helped mail out the Crusader Service, two hundred in all.</p> <p>Sept. 23d: Agent went to the residence of Miss Grace Campbell 206 West 133d St., where the Supreme Council of the African Blood Brotherhood was to meet at 2:00 p.m., but on account of the bad weather no one attended. Briggs stated that he would send out notices for a meeting on Tuesday, Sept. 25th. Agent learned that the object of the meeting was to start a wholesale store for the different posts as they had so much trouble in getting what they wanted without paying high prices. The Supreme Executive Council is composed of the following:</p>			

CYNIL V. BRIGGS	-----	Executive Head.
THOS. BURNELL	--	Secretary
OTTO E. HUISLOOF	-----	National Organizer
RICHARD B. MOORE	-----	Educational Director
BEN B. BURNELL	-----	Director of Historical Research
GRACE P. CAMPBELL	-----	Director of Consumers Co-operatives
W. A. BOLINGO	-----	Director of Publicity and Propaganda
WILLIAM H. JONES	-----	Physical Director

Instructions from Agent Charge Bromman. (N. Y. No. 10 No. 10)  
Originated at New York. Journal to be made. Originating Office.

REPORT MADE AT: New York City	DATE WHEN MADE 9/29/23	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 9/27-28/23	REPORT MADE BY: Earl E. Titus.
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TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

IN RE: NEGRO RADICAL ACTIVITIES.

FACTS DEVELOPED: At New York:

Sept. 27th: Agent visited a number of places in Harlem among the colored people, but learned nothing of interest to the Department.

Sept. 28th: Agent went to the home of Cyril Briggs, 213 West 155th St., and found Mr. Briggs writing articles for the Crusader Service. Briggs said he had sent out notices to a great many of the members to be present at the meeting of the African Blood Brotherhood to-night as he had some very important things to come up, one of which is the obtaining of a place for the forum to meet. Miss Campbell said that she was going to see about it and have a report ready for this meeting. Mr. Huiswoud will make reports and the meeting may be interesting.

Agent went to Post Menalek, No. 105, A. B. B., 149 West 156th St., and was informed that because of the sudden illness of Grace Campbell, there would be no meeting. Agent went to the home of Miss Campbell, 205 W. 135th St. and found her very ill. Briggs said, they would have a meeting on Sunday, Sept. 30th.

Instructions from Agent in Charge Brownson. (H. C. File 115.  
Case originated at New York. Journal to be made. Original to be filed.

REPORT MADE AT: New York City	DATE WHEN MADE: 10/1/23	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 9/29-30/23	REPORT MADE BY: Earl E. Titus
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: IN RE: NEGRO RADICAL ACTIVITIES.			
FACTS DEVELOPED: At New York: <p>Sent. 29th: Agent went to the Holy Trinity Church, Dekalb and Franklin Avenues, Brooklyn, N. Y., where the Equal Rights League was holding a convention which was almost at an end. Learned from the Sec. William Monroe Trotter that there were about fifty delegates in all who had registered, but nothing of interest to the Department had occurred.</p> <p>Agent went to the home of Miss Grace Campbell, 206 West 133rd St., and found Cyril Briggs there, Otto Huiswoud coming in about thirty minutes later with the Crusader Service, of which we mailed out about two hundred. Briggs stated that they would try to have a little meeting to-morrow as Miss Campbell was sick and hadn't seen about the hall that we were contemplating for Sunday for our Forum meeting.</p> <p>Agent visited around Harlem among the colored people, but learned nothing of interest to the Department.</p> <p>Sent. 30th: Agent covered meeting at the residence of Miss Grace Campbell, 206 W. 133d St., from 2:00 to 4:00 p.m. There were twelve present and Wm. Monroe Trotter left for his home in Boston, Mass. 3:00 p.m. Briggs said, that the mimeograph machine was fixed and that they would do their own printing now to save expenses. Miss Campbell said that she would arrange to have</p>			

a place for their forum to meet next Sunday, October 7, 1923. Mr. Huiswoud said, that they would published a small book and sell them to the members who in turn can sell them to the people or give them away and in that way spread propaganda; that this would help to clear expenses and possibly made some money for themselves.

Instructions of Special Agent in Charge Brennan:  
Case Originated N.Y.O. - Journal Made.

N.Y. File No.:

REPORT MADE AT NEW YORK, N. Y.	DATE WHEN MADE 11/3/23	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 10/30/23	REPORT MADE BY EARL A. TITUS
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE RE: NEGRO RADICAL ACTIVITIES			
FACTS DEVELOPED			

The next speaker was A. Phillip Randolph, who in a short address said that the conditions in Harlem could not last much longer and that the rich men had everything his way and would keep it as long as the people kept putting those kind of people in office.

J. G. TUCHER

SPECIAL REPORT

OCT. 22, 1921.

9. NEGRO ACTIVITIESAFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD

CYRIL BRIGGS, editor of the Crusader and head of the above organization has recently had printed a circular in the first part of which he criticizes MARCUS GARVEY and the Universal Negro Improvement Association and closes with an offer to co-operate with the Universal Negro Improvement Association and all other Negro associations for the "immediate protection and ultimate liberation of Negroes everywhere." The circular closes with the following:

"In the meantime we invite every redblooded Negroe, every Negro proud of his race and willing to defend its honor, to join the AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD, secret organization of the race."

\* \* \* \* \*

CYRIL BRIGGS on the 20th instant caused the arrest of MARCUS GARVEY, Editor of the Negro World on a charge of criminal libel.

Briggs alleged that Garvey had defamed his character in the columns of the Negro World by asserting that he is a white man masquerading as a Negro to gain the good will of the Negro subscribers of the Crusader. The suit was sustained by Magistrate Renard in the Washington Heights Court. An application for a counter-charge of criminal libel made by Garvey for alleged criticism by Briggs was



refused. The hearing on the Briggs suit will take place on October 31st.

UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION

MARCUS GARVEY is carrying in the Negro World, official organ of the above, a large announcement which reads as follows:

"WHITE MAN

NEGRO FOR CONVENIENCE

A White man in New York by the name of

CYRIL BRIGGS

Has Started the

AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD

To Catch Negroes, No Doubt.

To Make It Succeed He Claims

To Be A Negro, And

Continuously Attacks the Universal

NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION and its

Founder, Marcus Garvey.

Negroes, Take Notice and

Govern Yourselves Accordingly.

\* \* \* \* \*

The usual meeting of the association was held at Liberty

hall on Sunday the 16th instant, the principal speaker being Garvey.

9. NEGRO ACTIVITIESUNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION

The usual Sunday night meeting of the above association was held at Liberty Hall on the 26th instant, the principal speech being made by MARCUS GARVEY, his speech being "Entangling Alliances and Affiliations." Garvey warned the audience that certain other Negro organizations were opposing the back to Africa movement and that they should be particularly careful to see that the objects of the Universal Negro Improvement Association were not defeated.

"SIR" WILLIAM FERRIS also made a speech along the same lines as Garvey.

\*\*\*\*\*

The hearing of the case of CYRIL BRIGGS against MARCUS GARVEY for criminal libel will be heard in the 4th District Court, New York on the 31st instant.

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The African Redemption Fund, which was started by the above organization for the redemption of Africa, now aggregates \$3,490.45.

9. NEGRO ACTIVITIESUNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION

A large meeting of the above organization was held at Liberty Hall on Sunday, October 30th, MARCUS GARVEY, as usual being the chief speaker. His topic was "Statermanship of President Harding", which had reference to the recent speech of the President at Birmingham, Ala. Garvey stated that the President was a sage, a man of great vision and that he had rendered a signal service to the World by his utterances at Birmingham.

\* \* \* \* \*

BISHOP ALEX MC GUIRE, Former Chaplain-General of the above association, has resigned and has established "The Africa Orthodox Catholic Church. In an effort to build up a membership he has been circularizing the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and as a result he and Garvey are conducting a wordy war through the columns of the Negro World.

9. NEGRO ACTIVITIESBLACK STAR LINE

It is understood that the finances of the above organization are still very low and that little headway is being made toward the purchase of the new ship which Garvey has promised his stockholders.

UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION

Garvey seems to be having considerable trouble in keeping the membership of the above organization intact and seems to fear that the ex-Chaplain of the organization, who is now head of the African Orthodox Catholic Church will wear away some members from the U.N.I.A. For the purpose of steadying his forces, Garvey is using considerable space in the Negro World "to a number of orders" over his signature, warning them against new societies and has also been advertising for

agents for foreign service in the association, the advertisements stating that two educated Negro men are wanted to represent the Negro race in Paris and London as High Commissioners.

\*\*\*\*\*

Duse Mohammed Ali, who resides at 230 West 136th St., New York, has recently been having conferences with Marcus Garvey, the subject of which, however, being at this time unknown. This man is described as being very highly cultured and about fifty-two years of age, and is said to have been in this country several weeks, arriving here from London. He is Director of the Inter-colonial Corporation, Ltd., of 180 Fleet St., London, and publisher in that city of the "African-Oriental Review." The publication of the Review is said to have been forbidden by the British Government during the war owing to the periodical's extreme radicalism. The American correspondent for the Review is John E. Bruce who is associated on the "Negro World" with Marcus Garvey and writes under the nom-de-plume "Bruce Grit." It is understood that Bruce has been friendly with Mohammed Ali for upwards of twenty years and that it is quite possible he has been responsible for Ali and Garvey getting together at this time, as it was known Garvey and Ali had been enemies for several years. The person who furnished the above information stated, that he had been told Garvey was once employed by Mohammed Ali in London as a porter and general worker around the former's office and that the "back to African scheme" was at that time engaging all of Ali's attention. Garvey is said to have gathered all information possible and suddenly left Ali's employ and come to this country where he immediately started the first of his many schemes which was based on the idea which he stole from Ali.

The affairs of the Black Star Line are still in very bad financial condition, a number of suits having been brought against the Line by the creditors.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association is also said to be in bad financial condition.

J. G. TUCKER

SPECIAL REPORT

NOV. 26, 1921.

9. NEGRO ACTIVITIES

\* \* \* \* \*

In BRIGGS' paper, "The Crusader", issue of November, under the caption "As of Morality" he practically charges that MARCUS GARVEY had to leave England for having raped a little white girl and asks "Must the Crusader go into details?"

J. G. TUCKER

SPECIAL REPORT

DEC. 3, 1921.

9. NEGRO ACTIVITIES

So far as the New York office has been able to learn, the main activities in the above circles during the current week, consist of the dispute between CYRIL BRIGGS, editor of the Crusader and MARCUS GARVEY.

Briggs has made the statement that he is going to discredit Garvey and is making every effort to do so. As will be recalled, Garvey is being sued by Briggs for having stated in the columns of the Negro World, Garvey's paper, and the official organ of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, that Briggs is a white man posing as a Negro and obtaining money through the African Blood Brotherhood under that guise.

Marcus Garvey and his various ventures are still in bad financial condition and it appears to be only a question of time when the stockholders will demand a show down.

190-1781-6



J. C. TUCKER

SPECIAL REPORT

DEC. 10, 1921.

9. NEGRO ACTIVITIES

CYRIL BRIGGS, Editor of the Crusader and head of the African Blood Brotherhood has made the statement that the latter organization has a total membership throughout the country of about 30,000, 17,000 of which are duly paid up and the others being in arrears. He claims that the "Back to Africa" idea, as expounded by MARCUS GARVEY, is absolutely wrong, particularly when Garvey speaks of transplanting New York Negroes to Africa. His own idea, Briggs, states, is to have a capitalistic form of government in Africa, after the Negroes of the United States are educated up to it. Briggs, however, admits such a plan would not be feasible for many years.

\* \* \* \* \*

MARCUS GARVEY's affairs and those of his various enterprises, are said to be getting into worse financial condition each day. It is reported that he is finding it harder to obtain contributions owing to the lack of employment amongst the Negroes and the falling off in membership of the U.N.I.A.

It is understood that several branches of the latter organization are in open revolt against Garvey and his methods and that recently about 700 members left the Philadelphia organization and more than twice that number left branches in Chicago and other cities.

The Sunday magazine section of the New York World for the 3rd instant has an article on Garvey and his methods by HENRY M. HALL.

3. INDIVIDUALSCLAUDE MCKAY

Negro radical and one of the editors of the "Liberator," is said to have made the statement recently that this publication may have to suspend publication because of lack of funds, brought about by the embezzlement of \$4000. by one of the employees. McKay, at the same time, stated that he is still a member of the Communist Party and intends to rejoin the I. W. W.

J. G. TUCKER

SPECIAL REPORT

DEC. 24, 1921.

9. NEGRO ACTIVITIES.

AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD

On Sunday evening, the 18th inst., the African Blood Brotherhood of which Cyril Briggs is the head, had a large meeting at the Rush Memorial Church Hall, during the course of which the speakers denounced Marcus Garvey and his activities, as a result of which a number of Garvey's adherents, who are thought to have come into the Hall for the purpose of breaking up the meeting, took exception to remarks made and created so much excitement that the police reserves were called upon to restore peace and expel the Garveyites.

The African Blood Brotherhood expects to hold another meeting at the Palace Casino, 135th St., on the 25th inst.

\*\*\*\*\*

Garvey is said to be holding nightly meetings at this time in order to keep alive the waning interest of his followers. It is also understood from a confidential source that owing to the attachments against the Black Star Line's equipment and ships, the venture is practically at a standstill.

It is understood that the Rev. G. A. McGuire, former Chaplain General of the U. N. I. A. has now joined forces with Briggs.

\*\*\*\*\*

DUST MOHAMED ALI

It is understood from a confidential source that this individual proposes to make his permanent home in the United States where he has

190-1781-6

practically joined forces with Garvey, notwithstanding the fact that they had been bitter enemies for some years past. He proposes, it is understood, within a short time to establish a magazine along the same lines as the one which he published in London and the circulation of which was prohibited during the war.

9. NEGRO ACTIVITIESA BLACK STAR LINE

In the Supreme Court, New York, on the 27th inst., before Judge Hotchkiss, argument was heard in the suit of Captain Marlan Richardson, former master of the "Manawha" of the Black Star Line, against Marcus Garvey as President of the Line for moneys which Richardson claims are due him for back salary and interest for services rendered. In his affidavit Richardson claims that Garvey owes him \$3,574.73 and interest on \$1879.30 from June 18, 1921, and on \$1365.64 from June 28, 1921. Richardson charges this as back pay and money spent in Garvey's interest. He claims to have spent \$13,094.94 and to have received \$11,732.40. His salary, he stated, was \$330.00 a month and he also claimed to have been in charge of the "Manawha" from December 6, 1920 until June, 1921, when Garvey ordered him to report to the New York office for his pay. Richardson also claimed that he had maintained proper discipline aboard the "Manawha" until Garvey came aboard at Santiago, after which he could not maintain further discipline. He stated, in addition, that he had filed a letter to this effect with the American Consul at Jamaica.

Garvey entered a counter claim, denying all of Richardson's charges and asserting that the latter owes him money. He also charged that Richardson's gross negligence in handling the "Manawha" had cost the Black Star Line thousands of dollars.

Wilford Smith was attorney for the Black Star Line while Richardson was represented by Buchner & Gilmore.

Justice Hotchkiss reserves decision.

UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASS'N.

Is trying to borrow from its members Two Million Dollars "to start building a nation for the negro peoples of the world." The subscription blank reads:

UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION  
56 West 135th Street,  
New York, N. Y.  
U. S. A.

Dear Fellow Members:-

I hereby subscribe for a \$\_\_\_\_\_ loan for  
\_\_\_\_\_ years at five per cent interest annually.

This money I loan will help to build a government of  
our own.

\*\*\*\*\*

Cyril Briggs of the "Crusader," negro radical publication, and who is the head of the African Blood Brotherhood, was present as a delegate at the Convention of the Workers' Party of America.

BLACK STAR LINE

It is understood from a confidential source that MARCUS GARVEY is much concerned over a possible investigation by the Federal authorities regarding his use of the mails in furtherance of his various schemes. He is said also to have recently transferred a considerable sum of money which he had on deposit in the Royal Bank of Canada at Montreal, to the Jamaica, W.I. Branch of the same bank. It is not known, however, whether the funds are those of the Black Star Line or the U.N.I.A. He is said to be having considerable trouble in trying to bolster up the finances of both organizations.

9. MARCO ACTIVITIES

On the 12th inst. Marcus Garvey was arrested on complaint of the Post Office Department for an alleged violation of Section 215 of the United States Criminal Code, the charge being that he had sold passage on the S. S. "Alphila Montley" when that ship was not actually the property of the Black Star Line of which Garvey is the head.

He was brought before the United States Commissioner and held in \$2,500.00 bail for appearance on the 19th inst.

On the 13th inst. Garvey held a meeting at Liberty Hall, 135th St. and Lenox Avenue, at which more than a thousand negroes were present, all of whom cheered wildly for the "Provisional President of Africa." The meeting is understood to have been called primarily to explain the conditions which led to the arrest of Garvey. He, however, made only a partial explanation, saying that a full explanation was more than he could give in one lecture and that he would continue on Sunday night. In the course of such explanation as he did make, Garvey stated that he had been away at the time the alleged offenses occurred and that members of the opposing faction in the organization had sought to "cripple" it.

In the course of his address Garvey stated that the newspapers would carry the charges of fraud about the world and added:

"But we have our own cables. You know that the New Negro knows the use of the machine gun, the Arago gun, knows how to distribute the bombs and knows the use of the cables. My story will also be told.

"I never defrauded a man in my life and I challenge the very



Post Office Department to show men as honest. They will find more charges at home than they have on Marcus Garvey. Much more than money is to be considered. The organization is concerned with the welfare of one hundred million negroes."

Later, to a reporter for the New York World, he is said to have stated:

"This is a big cause I am leading, the establishment of an African Republic for the negro race. If I go to prison, if anything happens to me, a million others will spring up to take my place."

From a confidential source it is stated that most of those who are not members of Garvey's various enterprises, as well as a number of small stockholders, are pleased at Garvey's arrest and feel that he has been taking advantage of the gullibility of the negroes long enough.

9. NEGRO ACTIVITIESMARCUS GARVEY

The supporters of Marcus Garvey and his enterprises held a meeting on Sunday afternoon, the 18th inst., at Liberty Hall at which he was referred to by some of the speakers as the "negro Moses". The meeting closed with the adoption of the following resolution:

"We, the members of the New Division of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and stockholders in its subsidy, the Black Star Line Steamship Company, Inc., do hereby voice our trust and confidence in the personal honesty, integrity of character, sincerity of motive, and business acumen of our President, the Hon. Marcus Garvey, and our entire satisfaction in the course of business pursued by him as Chief Executive of the Black Star Line Corporations and its sister corporations.

"In the name of justice we petition the authorities of the Federal Government to turn a deaf ear to the slanderous propaganda of the dishonest and treacherous intriguers, who, discovered in their plans to defraud and exploit their helpless race, were expelled from this association, or exposed by its action; and we are confident that they will act with honor and fair mindedness in their proceedings, and will, in so far as lies in their power, shield him from insult and indignity."

9. NEGRO ACTIVITIES

During the current week Marcus Garvey was called to the Federal Building for an informal talk with Assistant U. S. Attorney Lattuck to whom he stated that his present troubles were directly chargeable to the activities of a "small group of men" who, he claimed, were jealous of the work he had done in connection with his various enterprises and the fact that he had built up a large following.

Garvey has held meetings at Liberty Hall during which he has stated to his audiences that he had never defrauded any man in his life and that his present trouble was part of a conspiracy against the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

In the course of one of his speeches made shortly after his arrest, Garvey said:

"The new negro likes a good fight--a fight like the fight of Hedham Roberts--two taking twenty--and I want to say to them and to the white world that if they trifle with this Universal Negro Improvement Association they are going to get what they are looking for. \* \* \*

"The plot was laid long ago, but the people probably did not want to act yet. However, last week we published that they have started lynching in Africa; you probably saw it in the Negro World; and let me tell you that something is going to re-act one of these days and if they think they can continue to attack and cow and persecute negroes on their rights, they make a terrible mistake and they are going to find it out, probably too late."

From the above it will be seen that Garvey is not only stirring up race hatred, but is also trying to make his followers believe that his arrest was a direct attack on the negro race.

THE SEPTEMBER

The September issue of this magazine is by far more conservative than any of the previous issues. There is one editorial under the title of "Liberating Africa" from which the following interesting quotation is taken:

"All intelligent Negroes are agreed upon the necessity of liberating Africa from the incursions of European capitalist control. Differences are in regard to the methods by which this liberation can be achieved..

"The African Blood Brotherhood and THE CRUSADER believe in utilizing every possible means towards this end, while keeping in mind that in the ultimate final success will depend upon the degree to which the opinion of the Negro masses have been mobilized and their minds prepared for the necessary sacrifice.

"We believe that it is essential to the early success of our cause that the Negro seek co-operation with the Indian Nationalist, the Turkish Nationalists, the Persians, the Arabs and all other peoples participating in the common struggle for liberty, and especially with those peoples whose struggle is against the great enslaver of the darker races--England.

"It is our belief that we should make common cause with the Indians and the Irish Nationalists, with Soviet Russia and the Turkish Nationalists and with all other forces now, or in the future, menacing the British Empire in particular and the capitalist-imperialist world in general.

"Since it is under the capitalist-imperialist system that Negroes suffer, we must boldly seek the destruction of that system, and to that end seek co-operation with such other forces--Bolshevism, Islamism, or what not--that are engaged in war to the death with Capitalism."

## THE NEGRO WORLD

This negro weekly has given over its recent issues almost entirely to the doings of the Second International Convention of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. The July 30th issue carries on its front page a greeting from Marcus Garvey to the delegates and states:

"This convention will eclipse anything in the history of conventions. Negroes from every part of the world are already flocking into New York. Important legislation will be gone through for the 31 days and 31 nights of the sitting of the convention. The program for the development and emancipation of Africa will be discussed. The work of the civil service of the Universal Negro Improvement Association will be discussed, as also important offices will be filled for the ensuing year.

Garvey's speech at the opening of the convention is also reprinted in full and the following interesting excerpts are taken from it:

"If I can interpret correctly the spirit of Negroes, it is for me to say that negroes everywhere are determined to be free, determined to be liberated; liberated from lynch law, liberated from mob rule, liberated from segregation, liberated from Jim Crowism, liberated from injustice. That is the spirit of Negroes everywhere. It is not found in any one country because negroes have been taken advantage of everywhere. It is a universal desire and it is a universal program that seeks to liberate Negroes everywhere.

"Some people seem to misunderstand us in this African question. They desire us to locate the part of Africa we intend to fight. (laughter.) No, you know that no general is going to give away his plans, and we never told anybody we are going to fight, anyhow. We only say that if you remain there until we get there, what happens to you is not our fault. That is all we say. If you want to interpret that as signing, that is your business. Now listen, some people try to misrepresent us by saying that we are going to locate ourselves at a certain place in Africa and start fighting from there. I want to disavow any knowledge of any particular place where we are going to start from, because anywhere I land I am going to start to fight right there. (Cheers and laughter.)

"I would like to see the race that would be so audacious as to make the attempt to exterminate the black race of today--a race of warriors who have never fought--warriors whose deeds in war have never been reckoned because they have never been performed. They talk about the New York 15th; that was only an experiment in warfare. (Cheers.) They talk about the Illinois 8th; that was only a pastime for the boys. They talk all about the prowess of the 6888 Central Postal Directory; those soldiers were only having a picnic; it was again day. No man has ever yet seen the Negro fighting at his best, because the Negro has never yet fought for self. (loud and prolonged cheers.)

J. G. TUCKER

SPECIAL REPORT

FEB. 25, 1922.

CYRIL BRIGGS

Who is head of the African Blood Brotherhood and absolutely opposed to Garvey and his ventures, has inaugurated a new paper, which he calls "The Crusader Bulletin." Briggs is also a member of the Communist Party.

In the issue referred to above, he makes vicious attacks upon Garvey and incidently uses the opportunity to advance the objects of the African Blood Brotherhood. He charges Garvey with dishonesty and states "That Garvey is a fakir who defrauded Negroes with worthless stocks and fake tickets on a fake steamship."

9. RECENT ACTIVITIES

MARCUS GARVEY is at present on a speaking tour in an effort to raise funds to keep the Universal Negro Improvement Association and the Black Star Line going and also in order to inspire renewed confidence into members of both organizations. The former large office force of the Black Star Line has been reduced practically to about two or three people and those who were laid off when the recent difficulties with the government arose, are all creditors of the company to the extent of from two to five weeks salary.

It is understood from confidential sources that Garvey's efforts are meeting with very little success and the fact that he is occasionally drawing fair sized audiences, is due more to curiosity on the part of the stockholders in order to learn the exact status of the financial condition of the company than to any belief they have in Garvey's ability to extricate him and them from the present difficulties.

The officers of the Black Star Line made every effort to dissuade Garvey from leaving at this critical moment and even hinted to him that in their opinion he was trying to avoid the consequences of his mismanagement, but notwithstanding their best endeavors he left the city and the time of his return indefinite, as from his latest statements it is his intention to travel West as far as Denver.



9. FURTHER INVESTIGATION

The affairs of the Black Star Line are still under investigation by the U. S. Attorney's office and the New York office of the Bureau and Garvey was last reported to have been in St. Louis, Missouri, a few days ago where, it was stated, he was endeavoring to raise funds for the rehabilitation of the Line.

9. NEGRO ACTIVITIES.UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION

Under the auspices of the above Association a meeting was held on Sunday, March 12th, to protest against the arrest of M. K. Gandhi in India recently.

The meeting took place at Liberty Hall, 120 West 138th St., and Marcus Garvey presided.

At the conclusion of his address Garvey read copies of cablegrams forwarded to King George and Premier Lloyd George protesting against the arrest of Gandhi in the name of four hundred million negroes. They placed the negroes on record as standing for the freedom of India and as being in sympathy with the policies of Gandhi. One sentence read: "We wish you (the British Government) success, but not at the expense of the darker and weaker peoples of the world."

J. G. TUCKER

SPECIAL REPORT

MARCH 25, 1922.

INDIVIDUALSCYRIL BRIGGS

Editor of "The Crusader", one of the most strongly radical Negro magazines, is said to be employed at the present time at the Friends of Soviet Russia, at whose offices he was seen during the current period.

J. G. TUCKER

SPECIAL REPORT

JUNE 17, 1922.

FRIENDS OF NEGRO FREEDOM

Chandler Owen recently returned from a tour to the Coast in the interests of the above organization and stated that fourteen new councils had been organized. The Executive Secretaries Owen and A. Philip Randolph, editors of "The Messenger," are endeavoring to perfect organizations in Philadelphia, Newark, Brooklyn, Los Angeles, Boston, Jersey City, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Chicago and a number of other cities between New York and the Coast. The organization proposes, among other things, to approach the theatres, the baseball organizations, State Boxing Commission and other bodies with a view to eliminate alleged discrimination against the negro race in these various pursuits.

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At a meeting of the 21st Assembly District Socialist Party on the 15th inst., Frank R. Crosswaite, one of the most active negro Socialists in the Harlem district, was named as candidate for Congress..

J. G. TUCKER

SPECIAL REPORT

JUNE 24, 1922.

5. NEGRO ACTIVITIES

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W. A. Domingo, widely known negro radical, is conducting a series of summer campaign meetings at the Harlem Community Church, 149 West 136th Street.

5. NEGRO ACTIVITIES

It is understood from a confidential source that the officials of the Black Star Steamship Line seem to be convinced that Marcus Garvey will be convicted and sent to the penitentiary and they plan in this event to supplant him with Ali Duse Mohammed, under whom, it will be remembered, Garvey worked at one time in London, and who is at present connected with the Garvey movement and the "Negro World."

\* \* \* \* \*

At a meeting of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, there was received from MARCUS GARVEY, a telegram which stated as follows:

"Have this day interviewed EDWARD YOUNG CLARKE, Acting Imperial Wizard, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. In a conference of two hours he outlined the aims and objects of the Klan. He denied any hostility toward the Negro as a race. He expresses sympathy for the aims and objects of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. He believes America to be a White man's country and also states that the Negro should have a country of his own in Africa." He denied that his organization, since its reorganization ever attacked the Negroes. He has been invited to speak at the forthcoming convention to further assure the Race of its stand on the Klan."

The coming convention is occupying most of the attention of the membership of the Universal Negro Improvement

J. C. TUCKER

SPECIAL REPORT

JULY 1, 1922.

Association and the Black Star Line, and according to Garvey's statement, all the 400,000,000 Negroes are looking to the Universal Negro Improvement Association for redemption."

From an unconfirmed source, it is understood that after Garvey had talked with Clarke, the former made public the statement that he intended to re-organize the Black Star Line in a short time. It is further understood that Clarke will be one of the stockholders of the company upon its re-organization.

WILLIAM E. DUNN JR.

SPECIAL REPORT

JULY 8, 1922.

5. NEGRO ACTIVITIESUNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSN.

This organization is devoting much of its energies to the coming annual convention, which is to take place at Liberty Hall, New York City, from August 1st to 31st. Among the many things to be discussed at the convention will be:

1. The establishing of better commercial relationship between the Negro peoples of the World.
2. Discussing the plans for better government of the Negro people of Africa.
3. Discussing better international representation and protection for the Negro peoples of the World.
4. Discussing ways and means of fostering and protecting independent Negro nationalities in Africa and elsewhere.
5. Discussing ways and means of better steamship communication between the Negro peoples of the World and the expansion of the Black Star Line.
6. Drafting an international political program for the Negro peoples of the World.
7. Discussing the Negro press and its future policy.
8. Reaffirmation of declaration of rights of the Negro race.



WILLIAM L. DUNN JR.

SPECIAL REPORT

JULY 8, 1922.

At a meeting of this organization held on July 4th at Liberty Hall, 3,000 members being present, MARCUS GARVEY announced that he intends to ask for the resignation of all of his present officers and that before the close of the convention, an entirely new set of men will direct the affairs of both the Universal Negro Improvement Association and the Black Star Line. Among those believed to be scheduled for office, is a man named BUDDY of St. Louis, Mo., who it is said was quite active in the riots occurring in East St. Louis, Mo.

On Sunday night, July 9th, Marcus Garvey will address an audience concerning his connections with the KU KLUX KLAN, at which time he will make known in full the purpose of his meeting with EDWARD YOUNG CLARKE of that organization.

5. NEGRO ACTIVITIESUNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION

The Negro World, official organ of the above body, in its issue of July 15th, announces the following speakers to address the opening session of the convention to be held by this organization from August 1st to 31st. This meeting will take place at the 71st Regiment Armory, Park Ave. and 34th Street, New York City:

GABRIEL JOHNSON, of Africa (Potentate and Supreme Commissioner of the U.N.I.A., who will open the meeting)

MARCUS GARVEY (Provisional President of Africa and President-General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association)

DR. J. C. AUSTIN, D.D. (Who will represent the Negro Ministry)

J. W. H. EASON (Leader of American Negroes).

DR. LEROY BUNDY (Negro Martyr, Patriot and Leader, who suffered for years as the result of the East St. Louis Riot).

WILLIAM H. SHERILL, of Ohio.

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It has been learned from a confidential source that Marcus Garvey contemplates the publication of a magazine which

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will be known as "The Blackman." MOHAMED BEN ALI will be in charge of the publication and it is understood that its columns will be devoted to the promotion of the interests of the U.N.I.A. and the Black Star Line.

With regard to the recent interview held in Atlanta between the head of the Ku Klux Klan and Marcus Garvey, the general opinion amongst the colored people of New York is somewhat divided, the American Negroes seeming to be of the opinion that Garvey made a serious mistake in having anything to do with the Ku Klux Movement, and particularly in having made a public statement with regard to it, whereas the West Indian contingent appears to be behind Garvey to a man.

\* \* \* \* \*

M. MOKETE MONETI MANOEDL of Basutoland, South Africa, in a letter to the New York Globe, complained of the Garvey movement and stated in part as follows:

"The American people are unfortunately misled into believing that the preaching and threats of Mr. Garvey have some prospects of enlisting sympathy and support of the native African. This idea is artfully colored by Mr. Garvey and his cohorts by spreading broadcast erroneous reports to the effect that native Africans <sup>should</sup> represent my people in the coming so-called Third International Congress."

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Upon the specious and false claim, the U.N.I.A. hope to separate the poor, well-meaning, but misguided and ignorant Negroes from their hard earnings. The African Chiefs have no interest in the Garvey movement and would not think of establishing relations with it. Besides American Negroes, on account of this movement, are not allowed to land in Africa.

It might be interesting to the American people to know that the native African is not too backward and stupid to see through the sham, hypocrisy and demagogery of these shouters about redeeming Africa with a 'non-sailing' Black Star Line."

The article then goes on to say:

"In the coming convention, it would be interesting to request Mr. Garvey to indicate the tribes that have sent native Africans to America. It is very significant that President King of the Republic of Liberia while in this country, would have nothing to do with Mr. Garvey and his movement, although a so-called Liberian Redemption Fund is advertised as being raised by the Garvey movement."

I love my people. I want to see them educated, developed and grow in power, for they represent a great race; but I don't want to see them betrayed and exploited by an individual."

The writer of the above partially quoted letter is said to be an African Prince and claims to have been sent to this country by the African people to start a counter-movement in opposition to the work that Garvey is doing. He states that it is his intention

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to start numerous street and hall meetings in the Negro districts for the purpose of exposing Garvey amongst the Negroes of this city.

5. NEGRO ACTIVITIES.UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION.

The above association in a circular which states that it is published at 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City, advertises the opening of "The Third Annual International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World", at the Seventy First Regiment Armory, Park Avenue and Thirty Fourth Street, on August 1st, at 8 o'clock. It further states that 150,000 Deputies, Delegates and members of the UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION will be in attendance at the opening of the convention, and that Deputies and Delegates are coming from Australia, Asia, Europe, Africa, Canada, South and Central America, the West Indies and the United States. It adds that "this will be the biggest assemblage of Negroes ever seen," and that "no real, living Negro can afford to miss seeing the great international demonstration."

Further on the circular states that the meeting will be opened by "His Supreme Highness, GABRIEL JOHNSON, of Africa", (Potentate) and Supreme Commissioner of the U.N.I.A.", "His Excellency, Honorable

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JULY 22, 1922.

MARCUS GARVEY", (Provisional President of Africa and President-General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, The World's Greatest Orator), "The Right Reverend JAMES C. AUSTIN, D.D.", (America's Greatest Pulpit Orator), "Honorable Doctor LEROY BUNDY", (Negro Martyr, Patriot and Leader. The Noble Hearted American who suffered for years as a result of the East St. Louis riots.)

The circular also adds that at 1 P. M. on August 1st, the parade of 150,000 Deputies, Delegates and members of the convention will leave from 56 West 135th Street, for the Armory.

5. NEGRO ACTIVITIESMARCUS GARVEY

In a recent issue of the New York World, GEORGE W. HARRIS, Alderman for the 21st "Harlem" District, a Negro graduate from Harvard in 1909, stated that Marcus Garvey was ignorant of the history of his own race, saying that he misrepresented them damnably. In the issue of the World of the 23rd instant, Garvey was permitted space in which to answer the statements of Harris. He made a bitter attack on Harris and said in part that Harris had made capital out of the statement that he, Garvey, was born in Jamaica, B.W.I. and was, therefore, an alien. He added:

"Harris despises Africa because Africa has no legislative chambers to accomodate him at the present time. Because he cannot run for the position of Alderman in Africa at the present time to get \$2500 or \$3,000 - and because Africa has not as yet built her battle-ships and her dreadnoughts and cruisers - her Harvards or Yales, Princetons or Fordhams, and George Harris and his group are not disposed to help Africa do that."

\* \* \* \* \*

A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH and CHANDLER OWENS, Co-Editors



of "The Messenger", a radical Negro monthly magazine, are advertising a series of lectures to be held on August 6th, 13th, 20th and 27th at the Shuffle-Inn Music Parlors. The chairman at these meetings will be ROBERT W. BASHALL, Director of Branches for the N.A.A.C.P. The subject of the lectures will be "How Marcus Garvey bartered the Negroes to a Georgia Negro Hater," which no doubt has reference to the recent interview between Garvey and the head of the Ku Klux Klan in Atlanta. They charge Garvey with having made a statement in the New Orleans to the following effect:

"This is a White man's country. He found it, he conquered it and we cannot blame him if he wants to keep it. I am not vexed with the White man of the South for Jim-Crowing me, because I am black. I never built any street cars or railroads. The White man built them for his own convenience and if I don't want to ride where he is willing to let me ride, then I had better walk."

UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION

The Third Annual Convention of the negro peoples of the world under the auspices of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, was formally opened on the 1st inst. by a parade in the Harlem District, which was led by Marcus Garvey, the number of marchers being variously estimated at from three to five thousand people, comprising men, women and children. The convention is being held at the 71st Regiment Armory, 34th St. and Park Avenue, and at 8:00 P.M. about 3,500 negroes were present to listen to addresses made by the various leaders of the organization. His Supreme Highness Gabriel Johnson, Mayor of Monrovia, Liberia, opened the meeting and presided.

Present at the opening of the meeting were representatives from Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, Central and South America, the West

Indies and Canada, as well as delegates from all the States.

Marcus Garvey was the principal speaker and stated in the course of his remarks that the negro race did not now enjoy any real freedom and that if the negroes actually were to be free, the entire race must organize and strike its own blow for liberty.

"If England wants peace," Garvey said, "if France wants peace, if Italy wants peace, I suggest to them that they pack their bag and baggage and clear out of Africa." -----

"Egypt has spoken, Poland has spoken and Poland is now free; Egypt is free and Ireland also is free; Africa is now speaking and if for seven hundred and fifty years Irishmen found perseverance enough to have carried the cause of freedom on and on until they won, these four hundred million negroes are prepared to carry on the fight for African liberty."

Garvey then said: "We are willing to form an alliance with the great white race for the preservation of civilization and for the good of a lasting peace, but it must be clearly understood that the new negro is a different man to the negro of seven or eight years ago. We are willing to fight to see Africa restored to us as our home."

Chief among the subjects to be discussed at the convention are the following:

1. Better relationship within the negro race.
2. The fostering of an international race confraternity.
3. The establishing of better commercial relationship between the negro peoples of the world.
4. Discussing the plans for better government of the negro

people of Africa.

5. Discussing better international representation and protection for the negro peoples of the world.

6. Discussing ways and means of fostering and protecting independent negro nationalities in Africa and elsewhere.

7. Discussing the future educational policy of the negro.

8. Discussing ways and means of improving the industrial output of the negro.

9. Discussing the future religious faith and belief of the negro.

10. Discussing ways and means of better steamship communication between the negro peoples of the world and the expansion of the Black Star Line.

11. Electing and appointing of competent leaders for the administrative control of the work of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and its auxiliary movements.

12. Appointing delegation to represent the negro race at the Supreme Council of the nations to present claims.

13. Drafting an international political program for the negro peoples of the world.

14. Appointing international advocates on behalf of race rights, etc.

15. Discussing the future of the negro in America.

16. Discussing the future of the negro in the West Indies.

17. Discussing the future of the negro in Central America.

18. Discussing the future of the negro in South America.

19. Discussing the future of the negro in Europe.

20. Discussing the future of the negro in Asia.

21. Discussing the negro press and its future policy.

22. Discussing the politics of the American negro.

23. Discussing the politics of the West Indian negro.
24. Discussing lynching and how to correct it.
25. Discussing slavery and peonage and how to bring about a reform.
26. Reaffirmation of declaration of rights of the negro race.
27. Discussing the writing of history for the negro race.
28. Arranging the literature of the negro race.
29. Discussing a new social policy for the negro.
30. Discussing the educational relationship between parents and children.
31. Discussing the arranging of Africa into duchies and school of political and educational development.
32. Discussing the industrial and commercial development of Liberia.
33. Discussing the Liberian loan, etc.
34. Discussing the formation of a new civilization and culture for the negro race.

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On the 31st ult., a circular (copy of which is not yet at hand) appeared in the Negro District of Harlem, denouncing Marcus Garvey and his movement, and calling upon the Negroes of New York to renounce his leadership. Parts of the circular read as follows:

"Marcus Garvey must go!"

"Garvey a menace to 'Negro Freedom'."

"Can Negroes Afford to Tolerate a Negro Supporter  
of the Ku Klux Klan."

"Will Negroes Follow a Leader Who Urges them to

Surrender all "Negro" rights in America?"

"Should Garvey, who is not a Citizen, advise Negroes in the United States to surrender their Citizenship Rights."

It is understood that a number of the more prominent American Negroes in this city were invited to participate in the parade and to attend the convention but declined almost to a man.

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At the session of the Convention on the second inst. it was decided to present a petition to the League of Nations, asking that a part of Africa be set aside for negroes. The petition is to be presented by a delegation from the Universal Negro Improvement Association. After a somewhat stormy session, in which personalities were freely indulged in, the following members of the delegation were chosen to sail for Europe on August 15th: His Highness, the Supreme Deputy, G. H. Har of West Coast Africa; His Grace, the Chaplain General, J. R. Diggs of Baltimore; W. H. Sherill, a lawyer of Columbus, Ohio.; J. Austin Harris a lawyer of Philadelphia, and H. Dodge, a real estate man of Newark, N. J.

At the third day's session it is understood that there was considerable discussion over money matters, as a result of which the President General instituted impeachment proceedings against Surgeon General J. E. Gibson and others.

Gibson was removed from office by a standing vote.

Garvey is said to have stated that in his opinion Gibson's services were worth about ten cents a day although a salary of \$6,500 a year was voted to him at the last convention.

Marous Garvey is to be editor-in-chief of a new Negro daily newspaper, which will be called "The Daily Negro Times," and will be published by The African Communities League for the Universal Negro Improvement Association. The first issue is scheduled to leave the press on August 10th and the price will be 5¢ per copy.

5. NEGRO ACTIVITIESANTI-GARVEY MOVEMENT

At a meeting held at Shuffle-Inn, 131st Street and 7th Ave. on the afternoon of the 6th instant, it was announced that speakers will be sent throughout the country to expose Marcus Garvey as detrimental to the Negro interests.

WILLIAM PICKENS, Field Organizer for the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People declared that Garvey had endorsed the Ku Klux Klan and thereby put himself in the same category as the Imperial Wizard in Atlanta. Pickens in the course of his remarks said:

"There will never be an Africa without White People nor will there ever be an America without Colored People."

Other speakers were CHANDLER OWEN and A. PHILLIPS RANDOLPH. Co-Editors of "The Messenger," a monthly Negro radical publication. Randolph is also Socialist candidate for Secretary of State.

A number of Garveyites were amongst those present at the meeting which was very largely attended and a number of discussions arose, only the prompt action of the police preventing what might have turned out to be serious trouble.



UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION

The Convention under the auspices of the above organization held no session on Sunday in order, they stated, to permit Marcus Garvey to "honeymoon," he having made public the fact that he married Amy Jacques his former secretary, some time ago.

It is understood from confidential source that the attorney for the first Mrs. Garvey claims that she never divorced him and that while Garvey claims to have divorced her in Kansas City, he never was in that city long enough to establish a residence and it is not improbable that Garvey may later be charged with bigamy.

At the session on the 7th inst. at Liberty Hall, there was considerable discussion with regard to the status of Adrian Johnson. It appears that Johnson has been receiving a salary of \$3500 per annum as "speaker in committee" and was technically charged with having been \$4.20 short in his dues, as a consequence of which, coupled with the fact that Marcus Garvey claimed that Johnson was of no use whatever to the U. N. I. A., he was removed from office.

\* \* \* \* \*

On the 8th instant, the subject of the day's discussion was "Establishing Better Commercial Relations Among the Negroes of The World." Discussion of this matter brought out the fact that notwithstanding the loss already sustained by the Black Star Line, the enthusiasm of Garvey's followers has apparently not been dampened as there

was considerable talk of rehabilitating the Black Star Line. Every delegate who spoke was in favor of this idea and concurred with Garvey in the opinion that in order to establish better commercial relations within the race it was essential to have ships.

Delegates from Panama and Cuba were said to have led in favoring the rehabilitation plan and a delegate from Panama offered to pledge the first \$1,000 from his division if the convention reached a favorable decision. The general opinion that prevailed was that under a strictly business management and with efficient help, the Black Star Line might yet be made a successful business venture.

In opening the discussion, Garvey called the Negro the largest racial group in the United States and that it was deplorable that the race was practically a nonentity in the commercial world. He asked the delegates to consider the establishment of a chain of grocery stores in New York and other communities wherever the U.N.I.A. has a division. In the course of his remarks he referred to other racial groups in this country with not one-third of the numerical strength of the Negro, wielded great influence. He asked his audience if the Jews could have Palestine why not the Negroes another Palestine in Africa. He closed with an attack on William Pickens, Field Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P.

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At the morning session of the convention on the 10th at Liberty Hall, Marcus Garvey instructed all male delegates to attend the Court Reception to be held in the evening in evening clothes. The list of those mentioned for honors, together with the titles to be conferred on them were given out by High Commissioner-General, R. WILSON LINGON as follows:

His Grace, the Duke of Uganda, Sir. John E. Bruce,  
New York Knight Commander Order of the Nile;  
His Grace, the Duke of the Niger, the Rt. Rev.  
William H. Heard of Philadelphia;  
Sir Leroy N. Bundy, Cleveland, Knight Commander  
Distinguished Service Order of Ethiopia;  
Sir Emmett J. Scott, Washington, D.C., Knight  
Commander, Order of the Nile;  
Sir John Mitchell Jr., Richmond, Va., Knight Commander  
Order of the Nile;  
Sir Andrew Stevens, Philadelphia, Knight Commander  
Distinguished Service Order of Ethiopia;  
Sir James O'Really, Kingston, Jamaica, Knight  
Commander, Distinguished Service Order of Ethiopia;  
Sir Isiah Morte, British Honduras, Knight Commander  
Distinguished Service Order of Ethiopia;  
Sir Robert L. Poston, New York, Knight Commander,  
Order of the Nile;  
Sir James C. Young, Jamaica, British West Indies,  
Knight Commander, Distinguished Service Order  
of Ethiopia.  
Sir Caseley Hayford, Gold Coast, Africa, Knight  
Commander, Order of the Nile;  
Sir George C. Reneau, Guatemala, Knight Commander,  
Distinguished Service Order of Ethiopia;  
Sir Clifford A. Lorne, Guatemala, Knight  
Commander, Distinguished Service Order of Ethiopia.

At the tenth day's session of the convention, the chief topic of discussion on the agenda was the Liberian loan. Marcha Garvey said that if the United States makes the contemplated loan of five million dollars to Liberia, a large sum toward paying off the debt should be jointly raised annually by the Universal Negro Improvement Association, negro churches, fraternal and civic bodies here, in the West Indies and in South America, thereby preventing a "mortgage" being held against the African Republic for an indefinite period.

Garvey stated that Liberia was "the hope of the negro world" and said, "If Liberia is allowed to be provinceed by a white government we might just as well say good-bye to our dream of African redemption."

Suggestions were made that negroes everywhere be taxed from one cent to one dollar annually toward payment of the loan. At the morning session by unanimous vote, it was agreed not to read negro newspapers publishing articles tending to disrupt the Association.

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At the 11th day's session of the convention the subject under discussion was "lynching" and how to prevent it.

Participating in the discussion were a number of negroes from the South who claimed to have witnessed lynchings and burnings at the stake, and also a number of men who were said to have been in the recent race riots; and the hall was in almost constant uproar.

One delegate from Oklahoma is understood to have said:

"I have been living in a section where they have been

"Lynching for more than twenty years. Lynching is a form of temporary insanity. And how can you legislate against an insane man? There is but one way to stop him and that is by meeting a destructive force with an organized force, by fighting fire with fire."

Throughout the discussion statements were made by delegates, that in many communities in the South, the legal authorities have confessed themselves helpless against the mob. One delegate from South Carolina said:

"In my section we have been preaching and praying and begging for protection for years, but the lynching goes on just the same. The only thing to do if the law cannot protect a man's family and his home, is for negroes to organize and protect themselves."

Another delegate, who said that he was a victim of the East St. Louis riots and had lost his home there, said:

"Some delegates are discussing this subject without having had experience with a mob. Laws against lynching will not save you when an infuriated gang of roughts gets after you. The only way to protect yourself is to keep them off by force."

As against the above statements, Marcus Garvey in opening the discussion said lynching will be stopped only through industrialism and acquired high standing in the realms of finance by the negro on his own initiative, thereby arresting the respect and serious consideration of the world.

It was announced that on the following Monday the chief topic for discussion would be the Black Star Line.

5. NEGRO ACTIVITIESFRIENDS OF NEGRO FREEDOM

Under the auspices of the above organization, a meeting was held at Shuffle Inn, 151st Street near 7th Ave. on Sunday afternoon, the 13th instant. There were a number of Garvey's followers secreted throughout the audience and on several occasions the Police found it necessary to eject them. One of those ejected became angry when a speaker referred to the President of the U.N.I.A. as "a big hot air bag;" another objected to the charge that GARVEY had formed an alliance with the Ku Klux Klan, while statements reflecting on the business ability of Garvey as manager of the Black Star Line, aroused the anger of several others.

The main speaker of the afternoon was A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH. He stated among other things, in speaking of Garvey and his ventures, that the Garveyites "had neither the brains nor the capital to run a steamship line, much less build an empire."

He then asked:

"If Garvey is so concerned with liberating the Negro, why doesn't he set about freeing Haiti or why didn't he raise \$5,000,000 so that Liberia would not have to sell her freedom to the United States, by accepting a loan of that amount."

Randolph then made sneering references to Garvey's proposal for a "Black House" in Washington and the knighting of his followers and declared that Garvey should have knighted "Imperial Wizard Simmons of the Ku Klux Klan", "The Imperial Black Blizzard of the Negro People."<sup>2</sup>

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At the Convention's session on the 14th inst. the Universal Negro Improvement Association by a two-third's vote declined with thanks the offer of a well known bible society to present each delegate with a copy of the Bible. This action was taken after nearly two hours of heated debate. Amendments had been voted on and a vote to override the decision of the President General was taken. He was upheld by a two-third's majority.

The official decision reached was to respectfully notify the Bible Society that delegates to the convention were sufficiently supplied with copies of the Bible.

It was also recommended that the bibles be sent to sections of the South and circulated among those possessed with race and religious prejudices.

Marcus Garvey, after winning his fight to have the offer rejected, said, the declination was to be considered as a protest to let white people know negroes disapproved of their brand of Christianity that they should practise what they preach.

JOSEPH G. TUCKER

SPECIAL REPORT

AUGUST 19, 1922.

The majority of ministers are said to have sided with Garvey and Chaplain General Biggs, who has a large Baptist congregation in Baltimore, made the following statement after the deciding vote was taken:

"I am a Christian and a pastor, but I agree with the action of this organization in refusing to accept any Bibles from the Bible Society. We are not atheists by any means, and we are not rejecting the Bible. What we are doing today is registering an emphatic protest against Christianity as it is interpreted in this country."

Following action on the Bibles, the convention discussed "drafting an international program for the negro peoples of the world."

In opening the discussion Garvey said, as a race the Negroes have no political program. They are Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, Sovietists and Royalists. He said he saw the need of negroes forming an international party and standing on one common platform, the Negroes of America, South America, the West Indies and in Africa voting as one on issues of international import. He suggested it be named the African Party. Garvey said, that various divisions of the Universal Negro Improvement Association had been asked to throw their vote to various parties in this country which, when done, invariably gained the enmity of the other party. If every member of the Association voted one way, he said, this ill feeling would not be engendered.



JOSEPH G. BUCKER

SPECIAL REPORT

AUGUST 19, 1922.

At the business session of the convention held at Liberty Hall on the 15th inst. the delegates present discussed the ways and means for rehabilitating the Black Star Line. In the course of the discussion it was brought to light that although nearly one million dollars (\$1,000,000) of stock was sold, the line was insolvent. It was also said to have been shown that thousands of dollars of worthless stock was sold to unsuspecting negroes by persons not authorized to dispose of it and that large sums were misappropriated by officials either of the steamship line or of the association.

The exact amount of stock sold by the promoters of the Black Star Line is said to have been one hundred and eighty-five thousand shares valued at nine hundred and thirty-six thousand dollars (\$936,000) which was bought by negroes here, in the West Indies and in South America.

When Marcus Garvey was questioned by a delegate he admitted a large amount of money was lost by persons who sold stock, thereby creating liabilities. Garvey said:

"With a Commission in one place misappropriating the funds of the Black Star Line, the Secretary of a division in another town do likewise and then a salesman getting money for a passage and putting it in his pocket, there is no wonder that the line is insolvent."

Specific instances are said to have been related of district secretaries being paid money on stock who in turn pocketed it, making no mention of the payment to the home office. A delegate from one

leston, South Carolina, is said to have told of one who sold stock without authority of the company and is now in jail for having done so.

Garvey suggested that steps be taken to secure against loss to stockholders in the Black Star Line either by returning money paid for stock or transferring it to another steamship line to be operated by the Association. He said: "I am opposed to any other stock plan in raising money to organize and run a steamship company. It is a most perplexing and bothersome method. It is nothing but mental torture to those at the head of the project. Every minute of the day some person is standing at the door wanting to know this or that about their stock. The method of financing the Black Star Line has caused a great deal of robbery, unpleasantness and loss."

An investigating committee appointed in July from the stockholders of the insolvent line made a partial report, recommending that a subsidiary steamship company be created and that notes be issued by the company, redeemable in three years at three per cent. The proposal to rehabilitate the Black Star Line by forming a subsidiary company met with the approval of practically all those present, as it was pointed out that thousands joined the Association on the strength of the Black Star Line operating steamships between here and Africa. A committee of seven was appointed by Garvey to report a plan to redeem the stock of the Black Star Line.

JOSEPH G. TUCKER

SPECIAL REPORT

AUGUST 19, 1922.

At the afternoon session of the convention on the 16th inst. J. H. Eason, "leader of American negroes," became angry at a charge made by Marcus Garvey that he was playing petty politics and seeking to disrupt the organization and made a rush at Garvey in an attempt to strike him, but was prevented from so doing by some of the delegates present. The fracas threw the convention into an uproar and quiet was not restored until after the sergeant-at-arms had called in the police to assist him. The motion to adjourn the session until evening was carried while delegates clamored to be heard.

The subject under discussion was "The American Negro in Politics." Eason differed with some of the speakers who preceded him on this subject and made the statement that if a count was taken of every delegate from the South who had paid his poll tax, the convention would be forced to sing the doxology and adjourn.

This point of view did not meet with the approval of the following speaker who said the American negro voter was unprincipled, to which statement Eason objected, demanding that the speaker make a retraction. Garvey, during the course of his remarks addressed to Eason said, "before this convention I want to say to you that I know all about the petty politics you have been playing for the purpose of dividing this organization. For two years and a half you have been getting your bread and butter from these people and all along you made me understand there was no difference between the American negro and the West Indian negro so far as you were concerned."

JOSEPH G. TUCKER

SPECIAL REPORT

AUG. 19, 1922.

At the session of the convention on the 17th instant, it was announced that passports had been secured by members of the delegation which had previously been selected to be sent to the League of Nations for the purpose of requesting that some part of Africa be handed over to the U.N.I... to set up a Negro Government.

The five commissioners selected to make the trip and their aides were advised to make arrangements to sail some time next week.

Following the announcement that the date of the Delegation's departure to Europe was near, a collection was taken up to help defray expenses and about \$840.00 was taken in, which consisted of approximately \$540.00 in cash and about \$300.00 in pledges.

Marcus Garvey then announced that a monster mass meeting would be held on the following Sunday, when he expected to go over the top and collect the required amount.

The 17th marked the 35th anniversary of Garvey's birth and a resolution was unanimously adopted that August 17th be generally observed by the Negro peoples of the world as "an international holiday out of respect for His Excellency, the President-General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and Provisional President of the Republic of Africa."

There was less wrangling at this session than on the previous day and J. M. E. RASCH, leader of the American Negroes, who on the previous day attempted to strike Garvey, was not present.

One of the subjects under discussion was "The Writing of History for the Negro." Garvey suggested that under the direction of the association, a history of the Negro be brought out, in which the Negro of ancient, medieval and modern times be given the credit due him and why.

At the Convention session held on the 18th instant, Marcus Garvey, in making his annual report as President-General, suggested that the constitution of the U.N.I.A. be amended so as to give him the power to select all other members of the Supreme Council instead of their being elective. Garvey explained that during the past year he had been hindered as head of the association by lack of proper support from high officials. Some of his associates in the Supreme Council, Garvey charged, were disloyal, others were inefficient, and there were several, he said, who were unsuited because of temperamental unfitness.

There are said to be 18 positions carrying salaries ranging from \$2,500 to \$10,000 a year which would be affected by the proposed change.

In his address, Garvey contended that it was just as necessary for him to choose the personnel of his Cabinet as the President of the United States.

When Garvey finished his address, there was considerable commotion amongst the members of the Supreme Council and the point was raised that the President'-General's charges were too

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general; and that until the accusations were more specific, those regarded by Garvey as tempermental, would also be suspected of disloyalty or inefficiency. The leaders of the opposition to Garvey were J. W. H. EASON, "Leader of the American Negroes;" SIR JOHN SYDNEY DE SOURG, "Leader of Negroes of the Western Province of the West Indies and former "Speaker of Convention" JOHNSTON, who was deposed last week. Eason told the delegates he was elected in 1920 by the American people, as "Leader of the American Negroes" for a term of four years and felt he should give an account of his stewardship. He made this statement in answer to a charge by Garvey that some of the high officials refused to make annual reports to the Supreme Council of the U.N.I.A., insisting on making them before the Convention.

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5. NEGRO ACTIVITIES.

On Sunday, the 20th inst., at Liberty Hall a monster mass meeting was held under the auspices of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, at which a collection was taken up to defray the expenses of the members of the organization who propose to attend the League of Nations in the interests of the Organization.

Marcus Garvey announced that between ten and twelve thousand dollars was needed for this purpose and that New York's quota was three thousand dollars. So far, including the collection taken up at this meeting, about two thousand dollars is said to have been collected and Garvey proposes to tender a farewell reception to the delegates on Tuesday, the 29th inst., at which another collection will be taken up.

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Nine libel suits aggregating \$750,000 were filed in the Supreme Court on the 21st instant by Marcus Garvey against newspapers and Negro speakers. He charged them with publishing or making slanderous statements concerning him. The defendants named in the proceedings and the amounts involved are:

The New York Times, \$200,000;  
 New York Call, \$100,000;  
 Amsterdam News, \$50,000;  
 New York News, \$50,000;  
 Robert Snodell, \$100,000;

Chandler Owens, \$100,000; and \$50,000 respectively.

William Pickens, \$80,000 and

A. Phillips Randolph, \$80,000.

The suits against the New York Times and the New York Call grew out of articles appearing in these publications in which Bagnell and Randolph were quoted. Garvey claimed that defamatory statements regarding his character were made and the allegations in the other suits are along similar lines.

On the same date, Garvey, as President of the Black Star Line was examined in supplementary proceedings by attorneys for the Pan-Union Co. which obtained a judgement of \$5,000 against the steamship company some time ago. The Pan Union Company shipped a carload of whiskey to Havana, Cuba on the Black Star Steamship Yarmouth before the ban on whiskey became effective, January 18th, 1920. The Pan Union Company charged the crew of the Yarmouth with imbibing so deeply of the whiskey that they disabled the boat and she had to put back to port where the rest of the whiskey was seized. They were sued and a judgement was awarded. Garvey maintains the steamship company has no moneys due it and of the three vessels it was organized to operate, he said, one is on the beach at Antilla, Cuba, another, an excursion vessel is a wreck somewhere in New York Harbor and the third, the Yarmouth was sold for \$1,800 to satisfy claims of almost \$100,000.



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At the session of the Convention on the 22nd instant, Marcus Garvey and J. M. L. Mason, "Leader of American Negroes" hurled charges and counter-charges at each other and feeling ran high as delegates and spectators argued while a motion to adjourn the convention session was passed. A few minutes before adjournment, the convention was temporarily halted, when the gallery attempted to howl down Mason as he was attempting to file charges against Garvey.

The charges made by Mason against Garvey included incompetency, forming an alliance with a disreputable organization and creating an unfriendly feeling against American Negroes. Garvey said he welcomed a trial and the convention voted to accept the charge made by Mason. Garvey then asked that he be tried during an open session as he was anxious for the public to hear the testimony and the delegates granted his request.

Until Mason brought the charges, the entire day had been taken up in consideration of the alleged misconduct of Mason and after Garvey had produced typewritten statements reflecting on Mason, the majority of delegates thought it would be advisable to hear the case in secret session.

The first witness called to the stand in the forenoon session to substantiate the claims made by Garvey that Mason had been paid thousands of dollars as "Leader of the American Negroes," was Auditor-General Garcia. He testified that in the first year of